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WARTIME ALLIED CONFERENCES HAILED AS BASIS OF EUROPEAN STABILITY

Warsaw NOWE DROGI in Polish No 8, Aug 83 pp 155-175

[Article by Marian Dobrosielski: "Potsdam Conference--Facts and Interpretations"]

[Text] The aim of this article is not only to note the occasion of the 38th anniversary of the Potsdam Conference and Agreement. I have undertaken the subject in order to recall the historical significance of Potsdam in shaping post-war Europe and mainly because of its role in present day East-West relations. For, after a number of attempts to "reject" or "overcome" Yalta and Potsdam by various political circles in the West in the period of the "Cold War" and more subdued demands of this kind in the 1970's, voices of influential sociopolitical groups postulating the cancellation, dishonoring and revising of the agreements from Yalta and Potsdam are growing in number and intensifying again in the FRG, France, England and the United States or, mainly in the FRG, they offer a selective, peculiar interpretation of the Potsdam Agreement.

These voices should not be treated lightly, for they can be heard not only from mythomaniacs, who consider their own illusions and wishes to be reality, or from naive dreamers, who believe that the course of history and the development of events can be arbitrarily reversed, and go back to the "good old days" of 50 or more years ago; these postulates are voiced not only by bankrupt politicians and conscious forgers, who try to gain political capital by using the young generation's lack of knowledge of political facts and the sentiments of people who were actually or allegedly wronged by the decisions of these conferences, or fanatical madmen from the Polish underground, ready to reject "the curse of Yalta" even at the cost of a world war. Unfortunately, they are also more and more often and insistently put forth by the leading politicians holding power in the FRG, including the chancellor. This is a disturbing and dangerous phenomenon, although not unexpected. Also, leading French politicians have come out with postulates of this type recently (including President F. Mitterrand and the Foreign Minister C. Cheysson), which is very surprising. Both the French voices of "going away from Yalta" and the West German interpretations of Potsdam are directly connected with Polish affairs. Although they seemingly concern different matters, they share the intention of making Poland the object of international bargaining, which is harmful to its vital interests. These facts are the main reason for "returning to

Potsdam," for an attempt at an objective presentation of the provisions of the Potsdam Agreement in the light of the historical events of those times and their present interpretations and role in the development of the current international situation.

Bogumil Rychlowski presented the problems of the Yalta Conference, its consequences and the myths that have grown around it, in a matter-of-fact and clear way in *NOWE DROGI* of June 1983. I share his point of view. It makes my task easier, for it allows me to refer to the problems discussed by him and concentrate on the Potsdam Conference and Agreement. Naturally, every now and then it will be necessary to refer to the facts and events that preceded Potsdam or to the decisions from Teheran and Yalta. Rychlowski was right in stating that the decisions of Yalta and Potsdam should be treated jointly. The Potsdam Conference was the continuation of Yalta and the Potsdam Agreement is nothing but an updated concretization and formalization of the agreements and decisions of Yalta; it is, in a sense, an executive act following the Yalta decisions.

The results of the Yalta Conference were considered a significant success by all its participants and by the major part of the public opinion in the countries of the anti-fascist coalition. They made it possible to remove all kinds of bitter feelings, decrease mutual suspicions and even to increase the unity of the Big Three to some extent, though not for a very long time. After returning from the conference, Roosevelt stated that it marks the end of the system of unilateral actions, exclusive alliances, spheres of influence, which had been tried for centuries and had always failed. Churchill told the British Parliament that the USSR wants to live in honorable peace with the democracies of the West, that it had observed and was observing the obligations it had undertaken better than any other government. The Yalta Conference decreased and relaxed the differences and mutual suspicions between the allies, but it did not eliminate them. The events developing in the battlefields and in diplomatic offices, the approaching victorious end of the war, caused the allies to concentrate their attentions more and more on the plans of securing their own interests in the postwar system of forces, rather than on the superior aim uniting them, of bringing about the defeat of Germany and Japan. Clear differences were taking shape in the approach of the allies to the solutions of the German and the Polish problems after the war. They caused an increase of tensions and misapprehensions between the allies, which became the source of disintegration of the anti-fascist coalition, division of Germany and Europe and of the "Cold War."

The Polish Government in London, shocked by the Yalta decision on the need to create a government of national unity inside the country on the basis of the existing provisional government, disappointed by the provisions concerning the eastern border of Poland, declared Yalta to be a subsequent partition of Poland carried out by the allies and continued to treat itself as the only legal Polish authority. The political activity and position of the London government in exile had, from the beginning of the existence of the Great Coalition, been a source of continuous friction between the USSR and the Western powers; it caused the growth of mutual suspicions and misapprehensions. The Polish

problem, as Churchill wrote in his memoirs, "was the first of the great causes which led to the breakdown of the Great Coalition."¹

Mutual distrust . . . the question of concluding separate agreements with Nazi Germany was another continuous, significant factor causing serious arguments and misapprehensions between the governments of the Great Coalition. The United States were especially anxious that, due to continuous attempts at delaying the opening of the western front by Churchill, the Russians might conclude such an agreement. The fact is, however, that the Soviet Union had been aiming at fulfilling the provisions concerning the war operations adopted together with England and the United States in the minutest details and had not undertaken any action that could justify such suspicions. This had not always been the case on the Western side. Delaying the beginning of the offensive on the Western front, sporadic contacts of the English and the Americans with the representatives of the Wehrmacht and Nazi authorities, about which the Russians had not always been informed, statements by various Western politicians, voicing the need for mutual bleeding and weakening of Germany and the USSR, increased the suspicions of the USSR about the actual intentions and plans of the Western allies. Roosevelt realized well that Stalin was sensitive on this point and did much to remove the sources of suspicion. Among others, this is why Roosevelt, similarly to Stalin, supported the concept of ending the war by an unconditional capitulation of Germany to all the countries of the Great Coalition. The agreement in this matter was confirmed in Yalta.

The Germans, realizing the existence of these and other mutual suspicions and anxieties, tried to use them in the right way. More than once, especially at the end of 1944 and at the beginning of 1945, they attempted to break the coalition by predicting the inevitability of a military conflict between the United States and the USSR and offering their services to the English and the Americans in their forthcoming struggle against the Soviet Union. As the war was drawing to its end, the number of these propositions was increasing. The matter that fanned the flame was the so-called Operation "Sunrise." In February of 1945 an SS general, Karl Wolf, offered the Americans his services to help persuade the commander of the Nazi armies in Italy, Field Marshal Kesselring, about the need for the capitulation of these armies to the United States and England. Wolf had contacts with Allen Dulles in Zurich (Dulles was then the head of U.S. intelligence in Switzerland). After he had been notified about it on 12 March 1945 by Harriman, the ambassador of the United States in Moscow, Molotov demanded that representatives of the Red Army be present at these talks. The Americans did not agree. This caused serious tension in Soviet-American relations. Roosevelt attempted to settle the problem in a letter to Stalin. The argument on this problem revealed Stalin's deep distrust, based on facts, and his anxiety that the English and the Americans might conclude a separate peace treaty with the Germans. On 3 April 1945 Stalin wrote in his letter to Roosevelt: "It should be assumed that you were not fully informed. As for my military colleagues, they have no doubts, on the basis of the evidence they possess, that the talks took place and were concluded by an agreement with the Germans, on the basis of which the German commander of the western front, Field Marshal Kesselring, agreed to open the front and let the Anglo-American forces proceed to the East and the Anglo-Americans promised to relax the conditions of armistice in return for this."²

In his answer Roosevelt stated that "it would be one of the great tragedies of history if, at the time of victory, which is within our reach, such distrust and lack of faith threatened the whole undertaking, after such colossal losses of human life and material goods."³

The talks between Wolf and Dulles in Switzerland did not bring any practical effects. The incident was considered closed. In his last letter to Stalin, dated 12 April 1945, Roosevelt expressed thanks for the open explanation of the Soviet point of view on the Swiss incident. He stated that mutual suspicions should not exist and that misunderstandings of this type should not occur in the future. "I am sure," he wrote, "that when our armies establish contact in Germany and join in a fully coordinated offensive, the Nazi armies will disintegrate."⁴ The Germans, however, did not stop attempts to persuade the Western allies to conclude a separate agreement and undertake joint action against the USSR until the end of the war.

On 12 April 1945 Roosevelt died. Despite the differences of opinion and interests, he was an honest spokesman for maintaining the unity of the Great Coalition not only during the war, but also in peace times. His successor, Harry Truman--known for his anti-Soviet attitude, lacking information about the details of the relations between Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill, yielding to his advisors, who demanded a tough policy and economic pressures on the USSR, susceptible to the influence of Churchill--saw the USSR as a rival rather than an ally from the beginning of his term of office. Despite this attitude of Truman and the ever-toughening stand of Churchill, despite continuous attempts from the Germans to reach separate agreements with the Western allies, the superior assumption and basic aim of the Great Coalition--to bring about together a total military defeat of Germany--withstood these tests and was successfully implemented on 8 May 1945: in the presence of the representatives of England, France, the United States and the USSR, the act of unconditional capitulation of Germany was signed.

The war was won together. A new, equally difficult task stood before the Great Coalition now: to win peace together. From the very beginning, however, doubts arose, if the above-mentioned and other differences of position and interests would not wreck persistent, systematic implementation of the "firm resolution" to maintain and strengthen the unity of aims and to organize a secure peace in the post-war period, which was adopted in Teheran and Yalta and confirmed in Potsdam. The basic assumption of the allies in defining the common goal in this way was the conviction that since 1871 Prusso-German imperialism had been a constant threat to the peaceful development of Europe and that during the life of only one generation it unleashed two world wars. The allies also shared a negative view about the Versailles Treaty, although derived from different premises. The awareness of how the Germans used the way in which the Versailles Treaty was concluded and its provisions as a pretext for later revenge, aggressive policy, was too clear and live among the allies to consider a similar conclusion of World War II. During the period between the wars German politicians representing various parties, not only the National Socialist Party, used the argument that Germany had not been militarily defeated in World War I, but had been misled by the famous 14 points of Wilson, as a result of which it had surrendered. They maintained that the provisions

of the Versailles Treaty were unjust for Germany and, for the reasons mentioned above, not obligatory. Hence they rejected and did not observe them. They aimed at revising them by means of territorial claims, a policy of threats and blackmail which, as a result, led to the outbreak of World War II.

The leaders of the Great Coalition believed that the sources of World War II lay not in the provisions of the Versailles Treaty, but, among other things, in letting the Germans negotiate the conditions of capitulation. They decided to avoid a similar mistake. Hence they considered it necessary to bring about a complete military defeat of Germany and its unconditional capitulation, as well as to make it impossible for the Germans to play on the differences between the allies. They pledged not to conclude separate agreements with Germany, for they believed that breaking the alliance might lead to German victory or--at least--to its achieving convenient conditions of peace. As late as 22 February 1944 Churchill told the British Parliament that the term "'unconditional capitulation' means that at the moment of capitulation the allies would not be tied with it (Germany--M.D.) by any pact or obligation. For instance, application of the Atlantic Charter toward Germany as its right, or act prohibiting territorial changes, would be out of the question.... Unconditional capitulation means that the winners have a free hand."⁵ The leaders of the Great Coalition also believed that Prusso-German imperialism, based on the economic and military might of the German state, constituted a permanent potential threat to the security of Europe and the world. Hence they decided that it is necessary to aim at "weakening" Germany after the war.

Roosevelt was devoted to the idea of weakening Germany's might by "dismembering" it. Already in 1942 he told the State Department and other American institutions to work out appropriate plans on the post-war shape of Germany. During the meeting in Teheran on 1 December 1943 Roosevelt began the discussion of the problem of post-war Germany by presenting his proposal of dismembering it into five states. Churchill agreed immediately, saying that he would be for dismembering Germany and especially Prussia, which he considered the "root of evil." He also suggested separating Bavaria, Baden-Wurttemberg and Palatinate from Germany and including them in the Danube Federation which, already then, he planned as part of the new cordon sanitaire against the USSR. Stalin did not express himself univocally in this matter. He only said that Roosevelt's proposition to weaken Germany was worth discussing and he rejected Churchill's conception. It was decided to pass the matter to a special commission for examination.

The most specific and consistent approach to the German problem was that of Stalin. He was interested in the quickest possible defeat of Germany, its unconditional capitulation and in the creation of conditions that forever would make it impossible for Germany to unleash wars in Europe or elsewhere in the world. Roosevelt shared this attitude to a considerable extent. He also spoke for a speedy conclusion of the war in Europe, among other things, to gain the assistance of the USSR in the war with Japan. (In Yalta Stalin pledged that the USSR would enter the war with Japan 3 months after Germany's capitulation. This obligation was fulfilled by the USSR. On 8 August 1945, i.e., exactly three months after the capitulation of Germany, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan.) Stalin and Roosevelt were also for the quickest possible creation of the second front and concluding the war in Europe.

Churchill was of a different opinion. He was an adherent of the conception of mutual bleeding and weakening of Germany and the USSR and thus extending the influence of England in the European Continent with the smallest possible British military and economic contribution toward the defeat of Germany. Naturally, he did not voice such views publicly, but his activity clearly aimed at the implementation of this conception. It was mainly due to him that the opening of the second front in Western Europe was prolonged and delayed. During the Yalta conference, when it became clear already that the USSR had gained the status of a world power, capable of defeating the Third Reich independently, Churchill was backing more and more clearly from the conception of dismembering Germany and weakening it territorially and economically. At the turn of 1944 and 1945 the purposefulness of excessive military and economic weakening of Germany was publicly questioned in various political circles in the United States and in England, among other reasons because of the prospect of possibly using it for action against the USSR, which was gaining increasing political and military significance. The communique issued after the Yalta Conference, a considerable part of which is devoted to the defeat, occupation and control of Germany and to German reparations, says nothing about dismembering Germany, though it still mentions unconditional capitulation, occupation by the states of the Big Three and France of separate zones of Germany and the intention to destroy German militarism and national socialism as well as the creation of guarantees that Germany would never again be able to disturb world peace.

II

The conference in Potsdam was the last meeting of the heads of governments of the Great Coalition and it lasted longest: from 17 July through 2 August 1945. It took place under conditions that were different from those of Teheran and Yalta in many important respects. Roosevelt was not present. His successor, Harry Truman, was an entirely different personality. It was not the vision of jointly organizing a just, democratic peace and world, but mainly the short-sighted, particular interests of the United States that were most important for him. Churchill was absolutely different in Potsdam than in Teheran and even still in Yalta. He was clearly disappointed by such an end to the war. He had thought that the USSR would come out of the war so bled and weakened that it would be possible to force it to accept the British conception of post-war Europe, in which England would be the dominating force, after the Americans left. Meanwhile, it was England that came out of the war weakened and, actually, losing the status of a world power, while the USSR became a political and military world power. Churchill headed the work of the British delegation only until 25 July 1945. After he had lost the elections, Clement Attlee became the head of the British delegation.

As opposed to Teheran and Yalta, in Potsdam there was no consciousness of the common deadly danger that maintained the unity of the alliance. Particular differences and interests began coming to the fore, but the memory of this common danger was fresh. Also the hopes and expectations concerning the guarantees of a just and permanent peace among the societies of the allies states were great. Among other things, these factors caused the Potsdam Conference to work out decisions, which fulfilled these expectations to a

considerable extent. They were one more expression of the will to cooperate in winning peace although, unfortunately, the last one for many years to come.

After the American documentation of the Potsdam Conference was published in 1960, the Soviet in 1965, and the British archival materials were made accessible in 1970, as well as on the basis of numerous memoirs, mainly those of Churchill (Vol VI), but also those of Truman, Cadogan, Harriman and other direct participants of this conference, the possibility arose for a full, objective evaluation of the course and results of the Potsdam Conference. Among other things, the fact that several hundred people participated in the conference speaks against the myth of "conspiracy" or "plot" in Potsdam. Apart from plenary sessions, in which the heads of governments participated, working meetings of the foreign ministers, responsible for the preparation of the substance of the agenda and problems to be decided by the heads of governments, took place. Also subcommittees of advisors were called on the spot to work out specific, technical expert reports. Also military headquarters were at work.

On the motion from Stalin, supported by Churchill, Harry Truman, the President of the United States, became the chairman of the conference. After the heads of state presented the problems that would have to be discussed and decided upon on 17 July 1945, the foreign ministers were asked to prepare the agenda of the plenary sessions. There were many problems of different weight and significance. During the first plenary session, among others, the following problems were mentioned: good preparation of the peace conference with Germany and separate peace treaties with its allies; the creation of the Council of Foreign Ministers and of the Council for Controlling Germany; the German reparations; the division of the German, Spanish, Syrian, Lebanese and Tangieran navies; the Polish question and others.

The Potsdam Conference ended on 2 August 1945. In his closing remarks Truman expressed the hope that another meeting of the heads of state would take place soon. "God grant it," sighed Stalin. Attlee expressed the hope that "this conference would become an important signpost on the road along which our nations are moving toward permanent peace and that friendship between the three of us would be strong and long-lasting." Truman joined with this statement of Attlee's. Stalin stated: "This is also our wish."⁶ These hopes and wishes were not fulfilled. The reasons for this were not in the provisions of the Potsdam Conference, but mainly in their gradual violations by Western powers which, in turn, influenced the Soviet reactions.

The results of the Potsdam Conference can be found in two documents: the protocol of the conference, the text of which was published first in Washington on 24 March 1947 and the communique on the agreements reached in Potsdam, issued after the conference ended. Both documents were signed by Stalin, Truman and Attlee. The protocol contains 21 chapters. Among other things, they concern the creation of the Council of Foreign Ministers, the division of the German navy and merchant fleet, Iran, Tangier, the Black Sea Straits. A considerable part of the protocol coincides with the text of the resolutions of the Potsdam Conference. The communique concerning the resolutions contains 14 chapters. The most important ones are chapter III through VII concerning Germany, IX concerning Poland, X concerning the conclusion of peace treaties

with Italy, Bulgaria, Finland, Hungary and Romania and XIII--deportation of the German population. Point one, describing the formal course of the conference, says that important decisions were taken and important agreements reached, that "the conference tightened the ties between the three governments and extended the range of their cooperation" and that "they will put into effect just and permanent peace in cooperation with other United Nations."⁷

The debates and decisions on the subject of Germany's future dealt mainly with the common political and economic principles of treating Germany; reparations and economic problems connected with them; division of the navy and merchant fleet; the trial of war criminals; the establishment of the eastern borders of Germany; deportation of the German population from Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, which was strongly advocated mainly by Roosevelt and Churchill in Teheran, and with much less enthusiasm in Yalta. Roosevelt was taking into consideration voices against such conceptions appearing in part of the American establishment, including the State Department. Churchill was afraid that this would make possible too great an increase of the USSR's influence in Europe. Stalin approached the problem of dismembering Germany with considerable caution already in Teheran. When after the Yalta Conference Churchill and Eden began to interpret dismembering not as an element of weakening Germany, but as a "whip" on Germany, as an element of threats and pressure and, at the same time, British politicians and press, contrary to facts, presented the Soviet Union as the only state demanding the division of Germany, Stalin decided to present the Soviet position publicly. On 9 May 1945, in an address to the nation on the occasion of victory, he stated that the USSR "does not intend to partition Germany, nor to annihilate it." (It is worth noting that France represented the view that it was necessary to divide Germany into a number of states in the period before and many years after Potsdam.)

When the course of the Potsdam Conference is studied thoroughly, it turns out that the most difficult problem to solve, one to which most time was devoted, was the problem of German reparations. Among other things, it was decided in Yalta that the total sum of German reparations should amount to \$20 billion, of which \$10 billion should go to the USSR. Since final decisions concerning the borders had not been taken in Yalta, one of the problems that arose in Potsdam was what German territory should be taken as the basis for exacting the reparations. Truman and Churchill intended to make the amount of reparations dependent on the decisions about the borders. Aiming at restricting the scale of moving the Polish borders westward, they used the argument that the smaller the territory of Germany is, the lower will the reparations be, and the Soviet Union will receive less. According to the agreement that was finally reached, the USSR pledged to satisfy the reparational claims of Poland from its own share. The USSR was also to receive 15 percent of the industrial equipment from the western zones (this agreement was broken by the Americans already in May 1946, when Gen L. Clay, the commander of the American zone, prohibited deliveries from this zone to the USSR). It was also agreed in Potsdam that the territory of Germany was to be treated as "one economic whole." A number of serious observers believe that arguments around the problems of reparations and, next, boycotting the implementation of the agreements reached in Potsdam in this matter by the Western allies, as well as different

economic policies in various occupational zones, actually initiated the process of the division of Germany and the breakdown of the Great Coalition. For example, in his book entitled "The Decision of Dividing Germany" published in 1978, the American author John H. Backer provides evidence that this decision was the result of the position occupied by Truman's administration, which declined to implement the compromise solution of the reparations questions achieved in Potsdam and, in this connection, took the decision about the "temporary division of Germany" in fear of "communist expansion" and the alternative of the whole Germany dominated by the USSR. Others, e.g., Gabriel Kolko, point out the "evolution of Truman's policy, aiming at breaking the alliance with the USSR and reconstructing Germany as an 'anticommunist barrier.'" This was connected with the American tendency to economic expansion. The monopoly the United States had on atomic weapons at that time was a significant element that quickened the implementation of these conceptions. I do not intend to go into discussion of the interpretations of the development of events immediately after Potsdam. My only aim is to demonstrate that it was not the agreements from Yalta and Potsdam that were the causes of the division of Germany and Europe, the increase of tensions and the "Cold War"; nor was it the USSR's policy immediately after the war. The direct causes of these developments in the situation were violations of the agreements started by the Western powers and Soviet reactions to these moves.

But let us return to Potsdam and its results. The most important decisions of the Potsdam Agreement concerning Germany (Chap III) are as follows: "The allied armies are occupying the whole of Germany and the German nation has begun to pay the debt for the horrible crimes committed under the leadership of those whose deeds it openly approved in the period of success and to whom it was blindly obedient.... The aim of this agreement is to put into force the Crimean Declaration concerning Germany. German militarism and national socialism shall be uprooted and the allies shall, according to common agreement, undertake now and in the future other indispensable steps so that Germany never again becomes a threat to its neighbors and to maintain world peace. It is not the intention of the allies to annihilate the German nation or turn it into slaves....

"The aims of the occupation of Germany, which should guide the activity of the Control Council, are as follows:

"I. Total disarmament and demilitarization of Germany and liquidation of all the industry in Germany that could be used for war production or control over it. With this aim in view: a) all German armed forces, the Army, the Navy and the Air Force, SS, SA, SD and Gestapo, with their whole organizations, headquarters and institutions, including general staff, the officers' corps, reserve units, military schools, organizations of war veterans and other military and paramilitary organizations, as well as clubs and associations serving the purpose of maintaining the military tradition in Germany, shall be liquidated totally and finally in order to prevent forever the rebirth or reorganization of German militarism and national socialism; b) all arms, munition and war equipment shall be either destroyed or transferred to the allies to be disposed of. The possession and production of any kind of airplane, weapon, munitions and war equipment shall be prohibited.

"II. Convince the German nation that it has suffered total military defeat and that it cannot avoid responsibility for what it had brought upon itself, since the ruthless way of conducting the war and fanatical resistance of national socialists have destroyed the Germany economy and made chaos and suffering inevitable.

"III. Destroy the National Socialist Party and organizations connected with it and subordinated to its authority; dissolve all national socialist institutions; make sure that they do not revive in any form; finally, not to permit any national socialist and militarist activity or propaganda.... Education in Germany will be subordinated to control in such spirit that national socialist and militarist doctrines are totally eliminated and safe development of democratic ideas is made possible.... In order to eliminate the German war potential the production of weapons, munitions and war equipment will be prohibited and inadmissible, as well as all types of airplanes and sea ships.... The German economy will be decentralized in the shortest possible time in order to remove the present excessive concentration of economic might, especially that expressed in the form of cartels, syndicates, trusts and other forms of monopolization."⁸

III

The question of the post-war borders of Poland was a dominating problem in the relations of Poland and the states of the Great Coalition during and immediately after the war. From the beginning of its existence and during the war the government in exile treated returning to the pre-war borders of Poland, especially its eastern borders, as the basic--almost only--purpose for winning the war. Although during his visit in London in November 1939 and talks with the British Sikorski expressed the opinion that recapturing the pre-war eastern borderlands is more than problematic and that hence Poland should receive compensation in the west, this conception was very quickly rejected because of bitter opposition from the majority of members of the government.

The circular of A. Zaleski (foreign minister in this government) to the heads of diplomatic posts on "the Polish aims of the war" of 19 February 1940 (Angers) says that the official definition of these aims is as yet premature "'except for one that does not raise any doubts and is beyond discussion'--the aim to recapture and free the whole of the state territory."⁹ The conceptions of "two enemies" are explained extensively in this circular, as well as the adoption of the Jagiellonian conception as the model for post-war Poland, the creation of a central European federation in order to "create a cohesive defensive fort between Germany and the East,"¹⁰ in other words, a kind of "bulwark." The government in exile acted according to this conception until the end of the war. The strategic assumptions consisted in the conviction, which was maintained even when facts contradicted it, that the course of events would be similar to that of World War I. The Germans would defeat Russia, but the victory would weaken them so much that they would be defeated by the West. Even during the final stages of the war, when nobody doubted that the USSR would not lose the war, these people deluded themselves with the vision that it would come out of the war so weak that an alliance with it would not

necessary, because the eastern borderlands would be recaptured with the support of England and the United States. Such views dominated in the government in exile and subsequent prime ministers of this government yielded to them, even Sikorski, not to speak of Mikolajczyk and Arciszewski. By its stubborn and continuous putting forward of territorial claims against the USSR and by its anti-Soviet attitude, the government in exile not only caused an embittering of Polish-Soviet relations, including breaking them off, but also growing mutual distrust and tensions between the Soviet Union and the United States and England. Neither England nor the United States supported this point of view of the London government from the very beginning. The English considered the eastern border of Poland, defined by the Riga Treaty of 1921, to be unjust even before the war, because a considerable part of the Polish eastern territories was inhabited by Ukrainians and Bielorrussians, with whom the Poles could not establish appropriate relations. Already at the end of 1939--and more univocally in 1940--the English were ready to give de facto acknowledgment to the western border of the USSR at that time in exchange for a policy of a "more friendly neutrality" of the Soviet Union toward England. The British government, similarly to the Soviet government, treated the ethnic principle as the basis for establishing the eastern border of Poland. Since 1940 Churchill constantly referred to the position from the years 1919-1920, when the countries of the Entente accepted the so-called Curzon line to be a just Polish-Soviet border. The English also emphasized constantly that their pact with Poland of August 1939 did not include guarantees of the pre-war eastern border of Poland.

After the German aggression against the USSR, the English were able to bring about a certain relaxation of the stand of the Polish governments in London, which had still considered Poland to be in a state of war with the USSR. Against the resistance of several ministers from his government, Sikorski caused a Polish-Soviet treaty to be signed in London on 30 July 1941. Three ministers from his government who did not agree with Sikorski's position, Gen. Sosnkowski, Yaleski and Seyda, resigned their posts. Also the Polish ambassador to the United States, Jan Ciechanowski, was an opponent of the treaty with the Soviet Union and he undertook futile attempts to convince the Americans that they should make the signing of the treaty impossible. For these people the most important, almost obsessive and only problem was regaining the eastern border of Poland from before 1939. They did not have any specific conception of strengthening Poland in the west, however. Sporadic, only general formulations were made on this subject. Despite obvious facts, the government in exile lived in the illusion that the United States was ready to support its position in the question of the validity of the Riga Treaty. The State Department, however, made a statement in 1942 against undertaking any attempts to restore the eastern border of Poland from 1921. In his conversation with Eden in March 1943 Roosevelt stated that if the Poles were to receive compensation in the west, they "will win rather, than lose by agreeing to the Curzon line."

During the first meeting of the Big Three in Teheran (28 November-1 December 1943) the problem of Polish borders was discussed on the initiative of Churchill. The following picture of the agreement concerning the Polish borders can be drawn on the basis of English, American and Soviet notes from

the talks in Teheran (neither there nor in Yalta or Potsdam were official protocols of the talks made--each delegation took its own notes). Churchill spoke about the need for a safe western border of the Soviet Union, which would make a future aggression by Germany impossible and, in this connection, he acknowledged the need to move the Soviet and Polish borders westwards. Stalin mentioned the Oder line, which met with Churchill's and Eden's approval. After a prolonged exchange of opinions the Curzon and the Odra lines were agreed upon in principle. Churchill undertook to pass to the Polish government in London the agreement on the borders and to convince it that it was advantageous to Poland. Churchill said that: "The Poles would be wise to accept our advice. They will get a state of the area of 300 thousand square miles. I am ready to say that they would be fools not to accept it." Toward the end of the talks, on 1 December 1943 Churchill said: "I would like to return to the Polish question again, which seems to be more urgent, because the Poles can make a big row. I would like to read my proposition on the Polish question. I am not asking you to agree to it in the form presented by me, because I have not taken the final decision yet myself. My proposition is as follows: 'As a matter of principle it was adopted that the seat of the Polish state and nation should be located between the so-called Curzon line and the line of the Oder River, with the inclusion in Poland of East Prussia and the Opole Province. Precise delineation of the borders, however, requires precise studies and in some places a possible deportation of the population.'" Stalin reacted to it as follows: "The Russians have no ports that do not freeze in the Baltic Sea. That is why the Russians would need the non-freezing ports of Königsberg and Klaipeda and an appropriate part of the territory of East Prussia. The more so that historically they have always been Slavic lands. If the English agree to the claim to the above mentioned territory, we will agree to the formulation proposed by Churchill."¹¹ The problem of Polish borders was not mentioned in the short declaration from Teheran.

Churchill was not able to persuade Mikolajczyk, or his government, about the correctness of the solution proposed in Teheran. He continued to stick to the postulate of defining the eastern border of Poland according to the Riga Treaty. On 22 February 1944 Churchill spoke in the British Parliament for adopting the Curzon line as the western border of the USSR and compensation for Poland in the north and in the west. While Churchill, and later Roosevelt, undertook attempts to persuade the London government to assume a more conciliatory position toward the USSR, the Soviet and Polish armies began to liberate the Polish territory. The day before the Bug River was crossed, on 21 July 1944, the Home National Council established the Polish Committee for National Liberation [PKWN], which actually fulfilled the function of executive authority in the liberated territories of Poland. On 1 January 1945 the Provisional Government was established in the territory of Poland, recognized by the USSR on 4 January 1945. Thus two Polish governments began to function. One was recognized by the United States and England, the other by the USSR. The London government was occupying an increasingly anti-Soviet position. It was too much even for Mikolajczyk, who handed his resignation. His place was occupied by Tomasz Arciszewski, who was only formally recognized and tolerated by the Western allies, but they practically did not maintain any relations with him. Soon this government found itself in an actual international isolation.

During the Yalta Conference (4-11 February 1945) the Polish problems--of the government and borders--were one of the most extensively discussed subjects. The subject was discussed by Włodzisław Rychłowski in the article mentioned above, so I will not return to it. I will only note that during the discussions concerning the Polish problems much more time was devoted in Yalta to the creation of a representative Polish government and elections, than to the question of borders, especially the western border. This is reflected in the part of the communique concerning Poland. In the period between Yalta and Potsdam the Provisional Government of National Unity was established, which was recognized by all the members of the anti-fascist coalition soon after its creation as the only representative of the Polish nation.

As opposed to Yalta, where the discussions concentrated mainly on the problems of creating the Government of National Unity, the Polish problems in Potsdam were dominated by the question of the western border. I will concentrate on it, too. Already at the second plenary session on 18 July 1945 Churchill stated that the Crimean decisions concerning the creation of a representative Polish government "have led to a satisfactory solution" and that, in this connection, the problem of the "liquidation of the Polish government in London" should be discussed.¹² He also said that "as a government we do not maintain any relations with them (members of the government in exile--M.D.)...we consider them to be non-existent and liquidated in the diplomatic sense."¹³ The Polish question was discussed again during the session of 21 July 1945. Truman and Churchill discussed the questions of elections in Poland, freedom of the press, the manner of transferring the Polish property that was abroad, but also the question of the obligations of the Polish government toward England and the United States. Churchill demanded that the Polish government assume the obligation to return the sum of 120 million pounds paid to the former government in London. Here is a fragment of the discussion between him and Stalin on this subject. Stalin: "Does the British government intend to exact from Poland all the advance payments given to it to maintain the Polish armies?" Churchill: "No. We will discuss this matter with the Poles." Stalin: "We provided defined means to Sikorski's government, as well as for the organization of the army of the Provisional Government. We believe, however, that the Polish nation has paid this debt with its blood."¹⁴

During this session, when posing the problem of the western border of Poland, Truman said that the Polish government practically received an occupational zone without a consultation with the United States. Stalin recalled the Yalta decisions and suggested that the opinion of the Polish government, presented in an extensive memorandum sent to the governments of the Big Three during the first days of July, should be taken as basis for the decision on the question of the western border of Poland. This memorandum, referring to the Yalta decisions, presents all aspects of the justification of the Polish right to the border on the Oder and Neisse Rivers. It uses arguments of an economic, geopolitical, demographic, historical and moral nature. Truman and Churchill opposed the establishment of the border on the Oder and Neisse. Truman linked this problem with the question of German reparations, maintaining that they would have to be smaller, if the territory of Germany were decreased. Stalin expressed readiness to forego reparations due to the USSR from the territories

granted to Poland. Churchill maintained that Germany would have no way to feed itself if the eastern lands were taken from them. Stalin: "Let them buy grain from Poland." Churchill: "We do not consider these territories to be Polish territories." Stalin: "Poles live there, they have cultivated the land. We cannot demand that, after they have cultivated the land, they should give the grain to the Germans."¹⁵ After a lengthy exchange, in which Attlee also took part, it was decided to put the matter aside for further consideration. Closing the speech, Truman said: "I want to say openly what I think about it. I cannot agree to exclude the eastern part of Germany from 1937 in view of the solution of the question of reparations and supplying the whole of the German population with food and coal."¹⁶

The next day, on 22 July 1945, Churchill stated at the sixth plenary session that the postulates of the Polish government were unacceptable. Contrary to what he had said in Teheran, he argued that the possession of such a territory would not be advantageous for Poland. After a prolonged exchange of views it was decided, following Stalin's motion, to invite the representatives of the Polish government to Potsdam to justify their postulates. The invitation was sent by Truman, as chairman of the conference. The Polish delegation arrived in Potsdam on 23 July 1945, led by Boleslaw Bierut. It included, among others, E. Osobka-Morawski, W. Gomułka, S. Mikolajczyk, W. Rzymowski, M. Rola-Zymierski. On 24 July the delegation presented the details of its position to the foreign ministers of the Big Three. During this meeting Byrnes and Eden asked questions and raised objections against Poland's postulates. Molotov decisively defended these postulates. The conclusion of the talks was characteristic. After a length speech supporting the Polish postulates, Molotov ended it by saying that he hoped the Polish project would meet with understanding. "The Soviet Union is in a special position, because it is Poland's neighbor and has special obligations toward it." Minister Byrnes: "Although the United States is not Poland's neighbor, it has always been its great friend." Minister Eden: "England entered this war to defend Poland."¹⁷ Indeed, there was never any lack of beautiful phrases toward Poland from the West.

The question of the Polish western border was discussed extensively again during the session of 31 July 1945, without Churchill and Eden, who did not return to Potsdam after the lost elections. Their places were occupied by Attlee and Bevin. During the session the question of the western border of Poland was finally settled. It was decided that Truman would inform the Poles of the decision and that the French would be notified of "the change of the Polish border." The Polish matters were again discussed briefly during the sessions of 1 August 1945. Stalin suggested that--apart from France--Poland should be invited to the Reparations Commission, but he did not obtain consent to it. Bevin wanted to replace the word "agreement" by "point of view" in the part of the communique concerning Poland. Truman confirmed that he had informed the Poles about the achieved agreement.

The decision of the Potsdam Conference in this matter, included in Chapter IX of the Potsdam Agreement, is as follows: "As for the western border, the following agreement has been reached: according to the agreement on the question of Poland achieved at the Crimean Conference, the heads of the three

governments have studied the opinion of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity and members of the Polish Provisional Government of National Unity were received at the conference and fully presented their point of view. The heads of the three governments have confirmed their view that the final decision on the western border of Poland should be put aside until peacefully regulated. The heads of the three governments have reached agreement that, until final establishment of the western border of Poland takes place, the former German territories east of the line from the Baltic Sea directly westward of Swinoujście and thence along the Oder River up to the place where the Western Neisse enters it and along Western Neisse to the Czechoslovak border, including this part of East Prussia, which has not been given under the administration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and including the territory of the former Free City of Gdansk, should be under the administration of the Polish state and, in this respect, they should not be treated as part of the Soviet occupational zone in Germany."¹⁸ Also Chapter XIII, entitled "Organization of deportation of the German population," concerns this matter. It says: "The three governments, having examined the matter from every angle, consider it necessary to deport to Germany the German population or its part remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia and Hungary."¹⁹

IV

These are, quite briefly but, I believe, not simplistically, the main facts and the most important decisions of the conference and agreement in Potsdam concerning the problems we are interested in. These facts and decisions demonstrate clearly that the legends and myths created already during the war around Yalta and immediately after the war, as well as in the years of the "Cold War" around Potsdam, which are stubbornly maintained by various political groups until today, have no justification in the actual course and decisions of these conferences. The cases of Yalta and Potsdam have demonstrated again that, often as a result of lack of reliable information, illusions, one-sided evaluations, the perception of certain events, which is consolidated in various ways by propaganda and education, cannot be changed easily even by the most objective presentation of facts contrary to it. It also happens frequently that this type of perception functioning in social awareness influences the shaping of attitudes and stands in current politics more than objective reality. The myths concerning the decisions of Yalta and Potsdam continue to function in various social circles, in many European countries, including Poland, contrary to verified, documented facts. These conferences and their decisions are not treated as the expression of the system of forces then existing, as a joint attempt to create a system of European and world security, naturally, taking mainly the three's own security and interests into consideration, as laboriously worked out compromises, but as a mysterious conspiracy concerning the division of the world and mainly Europe into spheres of influence of the great powers, as betrayal and selling to the USSR--by England and the United States--of the interests of Poland and other European states, blaming the USSR for the division of Germany and Europe. These views show a tendency to treat the development of historical events as a result of great conspiracies, secret treaties or constant implementation of some great plans, specifically worked out to the minutest details, of this power or that.

Let us return to Yalta and Potsdam, to a comparison of the legends, myths and various interpretations with reality, with facts. There is no explicit or implicit statement on any division of the world or Europe in the agreements from Yalta or from Potsdam. The provisions of the Potsdam Agreement speak of the need "to widen the extent of cooperation and agreement" in order to establish "just and permanent peace." Also the need to prepare "a peace treaty for Germany that would be accepted by the German government" is mentioned. They speak all the time of Germany as a whole and about treating it in the period of occupation as a "uniform economic whole."

It was the Americans who came out with plans for "dismembering" Germany many times, with support from the English, and the French were proponents of such division for a long time after Potsdam. In Teheran it was Roosevelt who came out with a specific conception of "dismembering" Germany. There were many other similar American propositions. In 1944 the Americans still officially promoted the plan of dividing Germany, worked out by the treasury secretary in Roosevelt's government, Morgenthau, under the meaningful title: "Program for Preventing Germany from Beginning World War III." In the same year, 1944, Sumner Wells, undersecretary of state until autumn 1943, expressed the conviction that the unity of Germany meant a permanent threat to world peace and that the division of Germany was the only way of removing this threat in the future in his book "The Time of Decision." Welles also presented a specific plan for dividing Germany into three states in this book, as well as a proposition to include East Prussia in Poland.

"Betrayal and selling of the Polish interests" to the Soviet Union by the West--it is even unpleasant to write about this myth. When, after almost 40 years, one reads the documents and memoirs concerning the period of Yalta and Potsdam, also the documentation of the government in exile, one is left with a feeling of bitter shame and humiliation, because of the activity of this government. It is clear from the documents that the whole policy of the government in exile was based on the continuation of the megalomaniac myths of Poland as a world power; and one would think that they had been completely destroyed by September 1939. This government based its activity not on genuine knowledge and evaluation of reality, but on its wishful thinking and illusions. Apart from obsessive insistence on "recapturing the eastern borderlands," this government had no realistic, concrete conception of development for post-war Poland and did nothing to safeguard its interests. I am writing critically about the policy of the government in exile during the war, I am writing with regret and bitterness, but also with a deep conviction, based on a thorough study of adequate documentation. And this government had all the prerequisites for not playing the role of a factor causing tensions and growing distrust among the Big Three, but the role of their most serious political partner (in the sense of military potential) already from 1941 and it could have used this role to shape the post-war position of Poland in Europe and in the world. I will stop at that and will not go into deliberations on "What would be, if ...," which are useless now.

But let us return to the myth about selling the interests of Poland in Yalta and Potsdam. It was possible then and it is possible now to blame the Western allies of Poland from the war for many things, but not for "betrayal" in Yalta,

which was to consist in acknowledging the Cruzon line as the eastern border of Poland. The English presented this view to the government in exile already in 1939 and the Americans since 1942. The fact that they did not defend the position of the government in exile in this matter in Yalta was not betrayal, because they had never promised it to anybody and they had not taken any obligations in this matter. The stand taken by them in Yalta was the consequence of views voiced by them for many years. Also, backing from recognizing the government in exile which, through its own fault, no longer presented the society inside the country at that time and had no executive power over this society, was not a betrayal. It was not a betrayal, but rather taking facts into consideration. The Polish politicians from London, their followers at that time and also a number of Poles today, always blame somebody else for their defeats and failures resulting from their lack of competence and awkwardness or from illusory expectations: the neighbors, allies, enemies, fate, God, the devil--but never themselves.

The conference and agreement from Potsdam do not give any grounds for maintaining the myth cultivated in many Western countries that it was the USSR that planned and caused the division of Germany and Europe. In the FRG a very original interpretation of Potsdam is added to it. It was presented in different ways during various periods of post-war history; it is also maintained today by the leading politicians from the parties ruling in the FRG. The essence of this interpretation consists in bringing the whole Potsdam Conference down to one decision which was allegedly taken--that the eastern border of Germany was to be defined finally during the peace conference with Germany. The following unfounded conclusions are drawn from it: from the point of view of international law Germany exists in its borders from 1937; the part which is west of the Oder and Western Neisse remains part of Germany; the problem of uniting Germany or returning to the "whole free Germany" remains the main goal of the FRG for the future and thus the border on the Oder and Neisse cannot be finally recognized. The constitution and internal laws of the FRG are subordinated to these goals. Since the leading politicians of the FRG recall Potsdam and interpret it in this way, we should remind them about several facts.

They seem to forget that the war ended with the unconditional capitulation of Germany, which gave all the attributes of sovereign authority over Germany to the allies which, among other things, gave them the right to dispose of the territory and property of the Third Reich. This right was implemented in the Potsdam Agreement. When this agreement speaks of the peace treaty with Germany, it speaks of one "that the German government will accept," but not of one that it will negotiate. The specific decision concerning the western border of Poland speaks clearly about its "peaceful regulation" and not about a peace conference. It would be useful if these politicians studied thoroughly the whole of the Potsdam Agreement and drew appropriate conclusions from its decisions which, among other things, say that the Germans cannot shirk responsibility "for the horrible crimes committed under the leadership of those whom they openly supported and to whom they were blindly obedient in the period of success," and speak of the need for "total disarmament and demilitarization of Germany," of the necessity to "uproot German militarism," "destroy the National Socialist Party" and "prohibit any national socialist and military activity and

propaganda." And as for the peace treaty and the western border of Poland, the development of events after Potsdam, especially the creation of two German states and recognition by both these states of the inviolability of the existing borders in Europe, the Zgorzelec Treaty between Poland and the GDR in 1950, the so-called eastern treaties of the FRG with the USSR, Poland and other socialist states, treaties between the two German states, as well as the Conference on European Security and Cooperation, have led to the final "peaceful regulation," which is mentioned in the Potsdam Agreement and made the peace conference on the German question irrelevant.

The note of the government of the PRL [Polish People's Republic] to the government of the FRG on 29 April 1966 says: "The border on the Oder and Neisse is final. It was established at the Potsdam Conference by decision of the victorious powers, in the name of the anti-Nazi coalition and taking Poland's voice into consideration. This decision, constituting an act of historical justice, was immediately put in force, among other things, by the implementation of the decisions concerning deportation of the German population, accompanied by returning to Poland its western and northern lands. As for the peace conference, it was only to confirm formally the Polish western border--which is an undeniable consequence of the text of the Potsdam Agreement.... This border cannot be the subject of any discussions or bargaining and, thus, subject to claims from the Federal Republic of Germany. Hence the problem of the border does not exist. There is, on the other hand, the problem of peace in Europe, because territorial claims of the Federal Republic of Germany against Poland are a threat to peace."

The following formulations can be found in the treaty on the foundations of normalization of mutual relations signed and ratified by the FRG and Poland: "...aware that the inviolability of borders and respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of all the states in Europe in their present borders is a basic condition of peace. They confirm the inviolability of their existing borders at present and in the future and they pledge to each other unconditional respect of their territorial integrity. They state that they have no territorial claims against each other and will not put such claims forth in the future." Moreover, one of the basic principles of the Final Act of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe concerning the inviolability of borders and signed by 35 heads of state from Europe and North America, including the FRG and Poland, says: "The participating states consider inviolable all the borders of each other, as well as the borders of all states in Europe, and hence they will refrain--now and in the future--from violating these borders. In accordance with this they will also refrain from any claims or actions with the intention of seizing and usurping part or all of the territory of any of the participating states." Recalling these facts alone suffices for a full justification of the statement that "peaceful regulation" of the border on the Oder and Neisse, mentioned by the Potsdam Agreement, took place a long time ago. Any questioning of this border is a threat to the peace, security and cooperation in Europe.

A few words on the stand of the French. We find the following formulation in LE MONDE on 2 January 1982 in the report from a speech of President F. Mitterrand, in which he spoke, among other things, about Polish affairs: "Anything

that will allow us to go away from Yalta will be good...." Also C. Cheysson spoke in a similar spirit recently. What is the problem? The politicians mentioned above do not formulate it explicitly, but the meaning of their statements is clear enough. The French are probably offended even today that they had not been invited to take part in either the Yalta or the Potsdam conferences. They also want to maintain the myth that the Anglo-Saxons (Churchill and Roosevelt) sold the interests of the West and Poland, which the French would never have allowed, had they been participating in the conferences. The French forget about one detail which is quite important for them, however. It was in Yalta that, despite the existing system of forces inside the anti-fascist coalition, despite the small contribution of the French in the struggle with Nazi Germany, much smaller than that of Poland or Yugoslavia, despite the collaboration of the Vichy government with the Nazis and, in this connection, against the initial strong resistance of Roosevelt and Stalin, decisions were taken--because of the insistence of Churchill--that opened the way to recognize France, as Roosevelt put it--"Only as a favor or out of friendship"--to be a "great power" in the post-war system of international relations. Thus, "going away from Yalta" might mean, among other things, bringing France down to the role of one of the medium-size European states and depriving it of permanent membership in the UN Security Council, as well as of "shared responsibility for Germany as a whole." Is this what the French have in mind? This is all on this subject, with an additional remark: the French would do better to mind their own business, which does not look very good recently, and let them stop pretending that they care for Polish interests. Their care for Polish interests has, in most cases, not been advantageous to Poles or Poland over the course of many centuries.

Many suspicions about attempts to go around the decisions from Teheran, Yalta and Potsdam, which were not infrequently confirmed by facts, problems connected with separating the military zones, the threat of the economic collapse of a number of western European countries, mutual disappointments in the allies, problems connected with paying reparations by Germany--these were only some of the causes of the growing conflicts between the former allies after Yalta and Potsdam; the development of the conflict, decisions which, while it lasted, were often taken on a relatively low level, led to the division of Germany, Europe, to the creation of NATO and the Warsaw Pact against, and not as a result of, the decisions from Yalta and Potsdam. It is worth pointing out the following additional facts in order to understand the development of events during and after the Potsdam Conference. Immediately before the first meeting between Stalin and Truman in Potsdam two important events took place. On 12 July 1945 the Japanese government informed its ambassador in Moscow that it would like to conclude peace with the United States and England using the mediation of the USSR, under the condition that these countries would not insist on any unconditional capitulation of Japan. Stalin informed Truman about it in Potsdam. It was decided to play it slow. On 16 and 17 July the American delegation received information about a successful test with the atomic bomb in Alamogordo. On 24 July Truman informed Stalin about it, despite the suggestions of Churchill that this should not be done.

On 26 July 1945, without consulting the USSR, the United States and England gave Japan an ultimatum demanding its unconditional capitulation. Truman and

Byrnes were aiming at ending the war with Japan without the participation of the USSR. On 28 July the prime minister of Japan, Suzuki, rejected the ultimatum. On 6 August 1945, two days before the date of the Soviet Union's declaration of war against Japan, the atomic bomb was dropped on Hiroshima. On 8 August, according to the obligation assumed in Yalta, the USSR declared war against Japan. On 14 August 1945 Japan agreed to unconditional capitulation.

Later the events went quickly. On 5 March 1946 Churchill delivered a speech in Fulton, which is considered by many historians and politicians to be the declaration of the "Cold War." He spoke in it about the "Iron Curtain" and questioned the final character of the Potsdam decision on the Oder-Neisse border. Six months later, on 6 September 1946, Byrnes announced changes in the American policy toward Germany and questioned the western border of Poland. In 1949 NATO was created. The two German states were also established that year. Already in his first governmental declaration Adenauer spoke against the Potsdam Agreements and especially against the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border. The FRG, supported by the United States, aims at uniting Germany by absorbing the GDR.

In 1950 the three Western powers stated that they recognize the government of the FRG as the only legitimate German government and they gave their consent to the remilitarization of the FRG. From that time the pledges made in Potsdam were broken by way of action and reaction, the division of Europe and the conflict between the East and the West was deepening, any attempts at European solutions were torpedoed for--according to Adenauer's demand--the West made then dependent on the previous solution of the German problem, i.e., the absorption of the GDR by the FRG. This stand was maintained by the West until 1966.

Naturally, the agreements of Yalta and Potsdam were a compromise and, like all compromises, they could not be considered excellent and fully satisfactory by all the directly interested sides. It turned out, however, that in the light of post-war experience, the main provisions of these agreements were a solid foundation for the creation of a permanent system of security and cooperation for all the European states. The experience of the post-war years has demonstrated univocally that any attempts to change the political map of Europe created as a result of World War II and post-war development have caused and still cause significant increase of tensions, harmful for the whole of Europe and the world. These attempts have always ended and must end in failure for those who are undertaking them. After almost thirty years of various tests and search for a system of European security, after the interchanging periods of increased tensions and detente, all the participants of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe agreed that the security of our continent should be based on the reality established and created by World War II, agreed upon in Potsdam. Thus I believe that the Potsdam Conference created the foundations of European security in 1945 and protected it from a new war, while the Helsinki Conference of 1975 used this foundation to create an opportunity for the common implementation of creative peace as well as for cooperation and development advantageous for all the nations of Europe. Observing the provisions of these conferences as the essence of peace and security in Europe.

FOOTNOTES

1. W. Churchill. "The Second World War," London 1948-1954, VI, p 332.
2. Citation from "Special Envoy to Churchill and Stalin," by A. Harriman and E. Abel, New York 1975, p 437.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid., p 439.
5. "Sprawa polska w czasie drugiej wojny swiatowej...Zbior dokumentow" [The Polish Question During the Second World War...A Collection of Documents], Polish Institute of International Affairs, 1965, p 481.
6. "Teheran-Yalta-Potsdam, Documents," Warsaw 1972, p 457.
7. Ibid., pp 459-460.
8. Ibid., pp 462-470.
9. "Sprawa polska....," p 138.
10. Ibid., p 140.
11. "Teheran-Yalta-Potsdam," pp 86-87.
12. Ibid., p 229.
13. Ibid., p 248.
14. Ibid., p 297.
15. Ibid., pp 309-310.
16. Ibid., p 313.
17. Ibid., p 516.
18. Ibid., p 476.
19. Ibid., p 480.

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ATA CITES REAGAN, GROMYKO DISARMAMENT STATEMENTS

AU201229 Tirana ATA in English 1000 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Tirana, 20 Oct (ATA)--The American President, Reagan, made new statements in the context of the intensive campaign to justify the armament race and the plans of the deployment of the American nuclear missiles in Western Europe. These statements aim at mitigating the anger that these plans have aroused among the broad working masses of the FRG and the other West European countries, where a new wave of demonstrations of protest have burst out. "Let me emphasize and I would urge the young people in Europe to reflect on this, it is not the United States and NATO which threaten peace," Reagan declared. He accused Moscow of "continuing to produce the missiles at the rate of one a week" and added that "if Soviet intransigence continues we will move forward to reestablish the balance and ensure NATO's deterrent ability." The White House chieftain reiterated the stale formula that "peace is more likely if the USA remains a strong force in the world."

It is also reported that in a speech held in the meeting of COMECON in Berlin, the Soviet Prime Minister Tikhonov reiterated that the Soviet Union will take countermeasures "on regional as well as a global scale," if the deployment of the American "cruise" and "Pershing II" missiles goes ahead in Western Europe. He accused Washington of "seeking military superiority" and "wanting to impose its will on others and dominate the world."

During the official visit that the Soviet Union Foreign Minister Gromyko paid to GDR, he declared that the latest American proposals on the problems of the missiles "are unacceptable" and accused Washington of trying to achieve "superiority in the world." In a communique published at the end of the visit, it was pointed out that the United States boils down to one thing to try and upset, for its own advantage, the existing balance in Europe in medium-range nuclear weapons. Using a threatening tone, the communique stressed that the "conversion of West German territory into launching site for nuclear missile weapons would seriously damage the relations of the FRG with the Soviet Union and the GDR. The government of the FRG should clearly realise that by following unreservedly the policy of the American administration and throwing the doors of its country open to the new American missiles, it puts the vital important interests of the country at stake the communique underlined, which pointed out that the Soviet Union and Warsaw Treaty "will not be sitting with their arms folded if new nuclear weapons appear in the FRG."

It is also reported that the spokesman of the American State Department Hughes commenting on the results of the latest Warsaw Treaty meeting, declared that the published communique "does not reflect any change in the Soviet stand towards the deployment of the medium-range missiles in Europe." "The Soviets, he stressed, will continue to preserve the superiority in the medium-range missiles and that they will continue to adopt countermeasures." Hughes accused Moscow of trying to create "impression that the deployment of the SS-20 missiles is frozen," where as in fact "more than 100 missiles of this type have been deployed" since the beginning of the Geneva talks in November of 1981.

The interests and aims of the peoples of Europe are completely opposite with those of the superpowers. The peoples aspire to genuine peace and security, while the superpowers think and act for the war, for expansion and hegemony. The formula of the 'military-strategic equilibrium can never be a common denominator for the interests of the European peoples and those of the USA and the Soviet Union.

CSO: 2020/21

ALBANIA

BRIEFS

TRADE DELEGATION VISITS AUSTRIA--Norbert Steger, vice chancellor of the Republic of Austria, on 20 October received a government trade delegation of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania led by Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade, with whom he had a friendly talk. Idriz Bardhi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania to the Republic of Austria, was also present. [Text] [AU212001 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 21 Oct 83]

PLANT NAMED AFTER HOXHA--The AWP Central Committee decided on 10 October 1983: On the occasion of the 75th birthday of Comrade Enver Hoxha and to honor his deeds as founder of the AWP and of our new state, as a glorious leader of the party and the people in the struggle for the country's liberation and the construction of socialism, the Koman Hydroelectric Power Plant is to be named the Enver Hoxha Hydroelectric Power Plant. [Signed] The AWP Central Committee. [Text] [AU142114 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 83]

LEADERS ATTEND SYMPOSIUM--A symposium on the Albanian Heroic Epic began today in the conference room of the History Museum in Tirana. It is organized by the Academy of Sciences of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The symposium is attended by scholars, writers, artists, representatives from scientific and cultural institutions, and others. Comrade Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and first secretary of the Tirana District AWP Committee; Tefta Cami, minister of education and culture, and other comrades, were also present. [Excerpt] [AU231505 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1700 GMT 20 Oct 83 AU]

MERCHANT SHIP COMMISSIONED--A 2,700-ton merchant ship, the "Gjirokastr," was inaugurated today at the Durres shipyard. The ship was built entirely by our own forces. Luan Babameto, minister of communications, greeted those present at the inauguration ceremony on behalf of the AWP Central Committee and the government. [Summary] [AU172017 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1900 GMT 14 Oct 83 AU]

CSO: 2100/7

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LIMITED MANEUVERING ROOM IN INNER-GERMAN RELATIONS NOTED

Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German Vol 37 No 31, 10 Oct 83 pp 64, 67

[Article by Wolfgang Seiffert, former SED member and politician: "The GDR Is Fighting for Its Existence"]

[Text] The author of this article, Wolfgang Seiffert, 57, was vice president of the Society for International Law in the GDR, a member of the SED and adviser to the East Berlin government before he moved to the Federal Republic in 1978. He has been at Kiel University since 1978 and is considered to be one of the best experts on GDR politics.

"German policy has begun to move," noted Governing Berlin Mayor Richard von Weizsaecker when he returned from his meeting with Chairman of the GDR Council of State Erich Honecker in East Berlin. That arouses hopes.

Are there really going to be substantial improvements, benefiting people, in the relations between the two German states? If so, will such improvements stand up under the strain? Will it be possible to keep inner-German relations, which have been "regulated" relations only since 1972, intact and out of the exacerbated East-West confrontation if the Geneva negotiations fail and medium-range missiles are stationed first here and then in the GDR?

There is little that has become known so far, and what little there is is unsatisfactory and contradictory.

Item: While the GDR eliminated exchange rates for children, it left the compulsory exchange unchanged for pensioners. Item: Possibilities of marriages and family reunions between Germans from both states were covered by legal statutes in the GDR--restrictively, with the Federal Republic of course classified as "abroad." Item: At the border, a start was made at reducing automatic-fire installations.

There can be no question of the state of inner-German relations having been restored to what it was before October 1980, when the GDR drastically increased the compulsory exchange. They say that 300 meters behind the removed automatic-fire installations modern guns are being installed in

some sectors of the border. It is understandable that disappointed citizens are indignant that this is supposed to be the quid pro quo for billions' worth of credits.

However unsatisfactory and contradictory the GDR measures which have been taken so far may be, there is hardly any doubt that Honecker wants to further expand relations with the Federal Republic. Only too clearly has the SED general secretary expressed an interest in expanding inner-German trade. In addition, he has given his consent to continuing or beginning negotiations about agreements in the cultural and scientific-technological fields and protection of the environment and has given hints of such a development in many conversations with politicians from Bonn and West Berlin.

To be sure, none of those who talked with him could be under the illusion that in the near future GDR citizens would be able to move as they pleased and that the GDR measures to restrict the stream of visitors from West Berlin and the Federal Republic would be canceled in toto. No one can overlook the fact that, the GDR's economic straits and increased need for credits notwithstanding, the chairman of the Council of State has not deviated one iota from the strategy of the SED leadership of turning the patriotic feelings and interests of Germans in the GDR and the Federal Republic against NATO's counterarming.

Nevertheless the general secretary too remains a German patriot who would like to protect his GDR state from any dangers and to stabilize it. That means that he wants to make it more acceptable to the GDR population internally and more independent externally. Either can be attained by Honecker only if the GDR accepts the offer of the FRG Government to cooperate on the basis of the developed national bond and of tangible human relief.

For this, Honecker during his last official visit to Moscow received a limited but at the same time remarkably large amount of maneuvering room from Soviet party chief Yuriy Andropov. What occurred during the time of Andropov and the new Soviet ambassador in the GDR, Vyacheslav Kochemasov--the series of talks between Honecker and Franz Josef Strauss, Egon Bahr, Richard von Weizaecker et al--would have been unthinkable under Leonid Brezhnev and Kochemasov's predecessor, Petr Abrasimov.

Of course it is precisely Andropov who understands very well that such a policy might affect the Federal Republic more than if the GDR subjected itself unconditionally to Moscow's hard line. Yet Andropov also runs a certain risk in expanding the maneuvering room of the East Berlin leadership, for the interests of the GDR and the Soviet Union are of course not identical in every respect.

While Honecker has taken advantage of this newly gained maneuvering room, the offers he has made to the people in Bonn are modest ones. There is a manifest discrepancy between what Honecker does and what he needs to do in order that the FRG Government in the future too may obtain the voters' approval for its policy of "trust for trust" vis-a-vis the GDR. The question is whether Honecker in fact can actually do what he wants to do.

His problems lie not only in the Politburo but even more so in the difficult overall situation the GDR finds itself in:

--The economic crisis in CEPA is having a serious effect on the GDR, demanding from it ever new efforts which it can barely make any longer.

--Despite increased exports and payments of debts, the GDR still has between 8 and 9 billion dollars' worth of debts--not including the West German credit of billions. The income of the population is stagnating, and prices of technological industrial products and clothing are rising.

--The number of applications for travel abroad has again risen steeply, a figure of 500,000 being mentioned inside the SED. The party is therefore making strenuous efforts to keep the applicants in the country.

Among those desiring to travel abroad--and even more so among young people who do not want to go to the West at all--a new group of "dropouts" has emerged in the past few years: GDR citizens who have quit their regular jobs and want to make it their own way.

This trend, the SED leadership thinks, is far "more dangerous" than young people turning to the Protestant Church, where, the officials hope, they will at least remain tied to the state via the "churches in socialism."

The situation in neighboring Poland continues to be no grounds for reassurance in the GDR. And there is concern about the assessment by Yugoslav journalists in Moscow that the Soviet leading power is on the defensive all along the line and that the Soviet Union obviously is resolved to take the threatened countermeasures if but a single Pershing II is stationed in the Federal Republic. Then pushed-forward SS-21s, SS-22s and SS-23s are also to be stationed in the GDR, among other things.

SED officials themselves describe the situation with great seriousness--though without panic, let alone despair--saying that the GDR is fighting for its existence. Almost always they add: However we may twist or turn, though we may draw a line between us and the Federal Republic, speak of "two nations" and amend the constitution as was done in 1974, we cannot escape our German problems.

Presumably it is primarily this situation which makes it appear advisable to the GDR leadership not to engage in any experiments with substantial concessions and human relief but to limit itself to cosmetic changes. Nevertheless even an objective appreciation of these difficulties cannot justify the reserved reaction of the GDR leadership to the offer from Bonn to work together full of trust in the interest of the people in the divided Germany. More than ever the GDR depends on cooperation with Bonn if it wants to solve its problems.

In principle the offer for such cooperation, confirmed by the FRG Government several times, continues to be the proper thing to do, but it is open to doubt whether Bonn has perceived the complicated situation in the GDR to

to its full extent and whether one has always acted properly and with a particular aim in view.

If the GDR thinks that it can or must limit itself to cosmetic corrections in travel and at the border, should Bonn not react politically and talk to the GDR in no uncertain terms--not via press conferences or the media but officially?

If the GDR believes it needs only to take the billions from the stretched-out hand without as much as touching it, would it then not be better after all to revert to the tested principle of contractual agreements?

If the Bonn line of "contacts at all levels" results in the official Germany policy being undermined by special relations between Munich and East Berlin, one surely has to be concerned about clear lines of responsibility and substantive coordination.

With credits and the prospect of further credits alone, one cannot induce East Berlin to make substantial concessions and get over the difficult times in inner-German relations. What is more important is a visible regaining of the political initiative in the development of inner-German relations.

As things stand, it would hardly make any sense to urge the chairman of the GDR Council of State after all to visit the Federal Republic before the end of the year, but why cannot the chancellor invite GDR Premier Willi Stoph, who has just returned from Yugoslavia, to visit Bonn to discuss the development of inner-German relations?

8790

CSO: 2300/38

TENDENTIOUS LUTHER HISTORIOGRAPHY NOTED

Zurich NEUE ZUERCHER ZEITUNG in German 23-24 Oct 83 p 5

[Excerpt of article by Reinhard Meier, Bonn correspondent: "Martin Luther—a Precursor of Lenin?—Tracking the Reformer and the GDR's Treatment of History", datelined Berlin, in October]

[Excerpt] Reformer's Revised Image

Is there a genuine connection between Luther and Lenin aside from the fact that their statues are located close to one another in the town of Eisenach? Judging by the official Luther image put out by the GDR, there is no doubt about it—even if it rarely comes out in such a crude way. Nonetheless, in the eyes of present-day GDR historiography, Luther was, in the first instance, the /spiritual father/ of an "early bourgeois revolution" against the feudal system and ideological hectoring by the petrified papacy. According to the 29 official theses put out by the GDR leadership on the occasion of the 1983 Luther commemorative year, the reformation was responsible for triggering important impulses leading to the development of indigenous culture and the subsequent bourgeois revolutions which took place in the Netherlands, in England, the United States and in France. And since bourgeois revolutions merely constitute a preliminary stage leading to the seizure of power by the proletariat according to the Marxist world view, there is an automatic /historic connection/ between Luther and Lenin.

Of late, the GDR has very decidedly been putting forward this particular social revolutionary version of Luther's actions in order to polish its own historic image. Compared to the rather routine celebrations commemorating the 100th anniversary of the death of communist godfather Karl Marx, the Luther jubilee is being celebrated with physical and rhetorical pageantry that puts Marx to shame. The GDR, so say the official theses promulgated on the occasion of the Luther commemorative year, "as the socialist German state is the result of the century-old struggle by all progressive forces on behalf of social progress. Everything that is progressive which German history has produced and all those who have been instrumental in producing it are part and parcel of its inalienable traditions which have left their imprint on our national identity."

The Wartburg near Eisenach (where Luther hid out disguised as "Junker Joerg" in 1521 and translated the New Testament from Greek into forceful German) has been completely refurbished for the anniversary year. At a discussion which took place there, East Berlin historian Gerhard Brendler vehemently denied the contention of some Western journalists that the GDR was picking out only the light aspects of German history and leaving the dark and ambiguous aspects aside to suit its own version of German traditions. Brendler, the author of a just completed Luther biography, stated that Marxist historiography—particularly as regards research into Luther's life—was making every effort to portray the whole man and his many-sided activities. On the other hand, he was taking the liberty of distinguishing between those tendencies which are judged to be historically fruitful and worth cultivating and those which led humanity astray. But what is good and what is bad in history and which trends and priorities are to be stressed in research at any given time—that, of course, is not determined by the historian's subjective views or his specific interests but by the /all-powerful unity party/ which has put out a so-called project guideline for this theme as for any other.

More Sophisticated Portrayal

In keeping with the increased incorporation of Luther in the SED regime's self-image, a somewhat more sophisticated portrayal of the reformator himself has evolved. In years past, Luther was usually put down in rather general terms as a "servant of the princes" for having turned his back on the rebels in the German Peasants' War. Thomas Muentzer, Luther's sometime adversary, was considered the real hero of the Reformation era for having joined the rebels' cause heart and soul. In reconsidering the positive national aspects of Luther's activities—which, for that matter, was a trend that began prior to the preparation of the 500th anniversary festivities—the need arose to come up with a more differentiated portrayal. If Luther was now going to be portrayed earnestly as a man who triggered social and cultural liberation, it was impossible to make no mention whatever of the conservative aspects of his influence—which had been sharply criticized earlier—and of his basically religious personal outlook. The official theses drafted by the GDR historians also reflect an effort to do justice to such differentiated approaches here and there.

Public recognition of Luther in the GDR has above all been substantially expanded by the rather generous possibilities for participation in the festivities by the Protestant church. Realistically recognizing the fact that it would be difficult to champion Luther while remaining in open opposition to the church at the same time, the SED leadership decided in favor of sharing interests. The Protestant church—which is the most potent force among the Christian denominations in the GDR by far—accepted this offer to cooperate but at the same time is careful to draw the line between its own view of Luther as a religious innovator and that of stressing Luther's social revolutionary role. Mutual respect for these divergent points of view has led to an at least partial stabilization in the relationship between church and state during this Luther commemorative year.

Church and State

Nonetheless, there is no dearth of conflict right now. Werner Leich, the Lutheran regional bishop for Thuringia, who hosted a group of Western journalists at his magnificent residence near Eisenach—a villa built for a nobleman around the turn of the century—did make a diplomatically skillful effort of skirting delicate political issues. He dropped some hints to the effect that it is unfortunate but true that the Western media often publish hasty and inflated reports on the connections between the church and critical peace stirrings in the GDR. In the course of this conversation which was set up by the foreign ministry in East Berlin, Bishop Leich did not wish to comment on the youthful demonstrators in Jena. That, he said was merely one "facet of a very complicated process." It appears as if part of this complicated process is the fact that the church in the GDR been saddled with a kind of mediator's role between the unruly, dissatisfied and idealistic young people and a government that is suspicious of them. Many young people are streaming into the churches these days not so much for religious reasons but in the hope that the church might be the place /for open and critical debate/ which the other social institutions try to prevent. The church leadership does show a great deal of understanding for such needs and inclinations and defends them against the state with an air of quiet resolution; but on the other hand it wants to avoid becoming a kind of political opposition party (which would put its self-image and perhaps even its very existence into question). It therefore makes an effort to keep a certain distance from direct political protest actions which in some instances has led to accusations of pusillanimous conformism on the part of critical peace activists. To be sure, the church leadership is faced with a great many /internal and external pressures/.

The subject of official historiography came up one more time in East Berlin, the end point of our trip through the GDR on Luther's trail. After all, Luther is not the only German historical personage to whom the communist government has been devoting attention of late. 3 years ago, to everyone's surprise, the equestrian statue of Frederick the Great was returned to its old place of prominence on Unter den Linden, right in the heart of the East Berlin government quarter. Previously, there was a sharp rejection of the Prussian past. A new, much more sympathetic and differentiated relationship to that past was ushered in by historian Ingrid Mittenzwei's biography of Frederick II which appeared in the late seventies.

Bismarck Biography to Be Published

Klaus Hoepcke, the deputy minister for culture, tells us that a new Bismarck biography—the first under the aegis of the SED—is now in preparation. It is not yet definite as to when and whether it will be published, he says. There still seem to be a few things to be cleared up at the appropriate party levels. Nonetheless, they appear to be giving serious thought to

coming up with a more benign portrayal of the man who founded the /Reich/. If the Prussia and Luther renaissance patterns are followed, Prince Bismarck may be expected to attain to a newly enhanced place in the national hall of fame in recognition of his progressive achievements. The developments in this field which have even surprised many citizens of the GDR may lead to some more surprises in the future.

From time to time, the FRG is given to complaining bitterly about the brash and partisan use being made of German history by the GDR; but this is unlikely to cause East Berlin to restrict its /unilateral claims to the heritage/. Essentially, the only possibility is to meet the GDR's ideologically motivated historiographic challenge headon and to counter it with the diversity of opinion and research available to an open society. Conditions for such a "lofty contest" over the proper cultivation of the common heritage are not bad in the FRG at this time, since interest in historical themes has been growing here as well—along with the increased interest in national identity. A great deal of new literature on Luther and his times has come out during the commemorative year and television, too, has been devoting a lot of time to the subject. And since FRG television covers almost all of the GDR, there is very little reason to assume that the selective SED image of Luther as a social revolutionary will make much headway even among the audience east of the Elbe river.

9478
CSO: 2300/52

BACKGROUND, DATA ON FOREIGN CORRESPONDENTS GIVEN

General Description

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian Supplement 20 Aug 83 p 6

[introductory article of the report series: "One Subject on Several Pages, One Subject from Several Sides" by Jozsef Szaszi]

[Text] Every experienced newspaper reader knows well how deceiving it is to rely exclusively on the press or TV in forming an opinion about the domestic situation of a country or about the fine nuances of its foreign policy. The reports are often too superficial--and feeble--to enable the reader or viewer to form a clear understanding about the background and all the little details involved.

This is especially true in the case of a small country such as ours that has a language spoken by only 16 million people. In most cases journalists trying to learn about our country must rely on the help of interpreters and on relatively limited amounts of information in their attempt to form a clear picture about the things that concern Hungarians: the minister, the university professor, the writer, the factory worker and the collective farm employee. To make matters worse, the large world newspapers--at least those in the West--in general do not maintain press offices in our capital city. In most cases their correspondents take short trips from Vienna--and often from Moscow--to visit us for a few days, or come directly from their central offices for short reporting trips. The more experienced among them already have established contacts and local knowledge. However, there are also those who during these few days can barely rise about the scope of interest of a simple everyday tourist. The result, of course, has been repeated rediscoveries of the "puszta," greetings from Balaton, some casual impressions of Szentendre and descriptions of a short walk down Vaci street. We can, however, also find some more elaborate and better-quality travel descriptions and analyses. In recent months, for example, reports of greater substance have appeared in such papers as LE MONDE of Paris, DIE PRESSE of Vienna, THE ECONOMIST and the FINANCIAL TIMES of London and the Swiss NEUE ZUERICHER ZEITUNG. Let us immediately add that the above applies primarily to the Western press, since in general the larger papers of the socialist countries have permanent correspondents stationed in Budapest who are true "Hungarian experts" and who are equally aware of our strengths, mistakes, achievements and problems. The

following collection of articles will introduce some of the permanent correspondents working in Budapest and will attempt to give an idea about the kind of help which our domestic agencies provide short-term foreign journalist visitors in order to assist them in their work.

Who, How Many

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian Supplement 20 Aug 83 p 6, 7

[Article by J. Sz.: "On a Reporting Trip in Our Country"]



[Text] The degree of interest on the part of the foreign press toward our country can also be viewed as a kind of political barometer: it is an indication of the reaction by the countries of the world to our country's achievements and to certain measures taken by our government. Therefore, it is not only noteworthy but also heartening to see that the number of foreign correspondents visiting our country and reporting about its everyday affairs is not only not decreasing but actually growing.

Another just as positive phenomenon is the fact that last year--and during the months that have elapsed so far this year--the information reported about us has been better balanced than before and the articles that have appeared abroad have, for the most part, presented a realistic picture about our country.

Giving a precise summary of the journalists who have visited us and their writings, of course, is no easy task. There are those who come to us as tourists without even getting in contact with the Hungarian agencies and often even with their colleagues. Last year altogether about 2,000 foreign journalists visited us. Most of them came from the developed capitalist countries, 906 of them on official visas (a year earlier this category had 701 reporters with official visas issued by our authorities). Most of the journalists who visited our country last year from the capitalist countries came from France (257) and the FRG (221). There was also a considerable number of correspondents arriving for reporting trips from overseas: last year as many as 110 journalists traveled to us from the United States. Also visiting us were 82 journalists from the socialist and 34 from the developing countries.

In addition to being an indication of general interest, these numbers also reflect the effects of specific events and visits. Thus, for example, last year and later this year, accompanying President Mitterrand and head of state Maurois, respectively, dozens of French journalists and other media people were hosted by our country for a few days' visit.

Some of the visiting journalists are also provided a program by the Main Press Department of the Foreign Minister, PRESSINFORM or by various other Hungarian press agencies. In addition, every year we also invite a certain number of journalists as guests (these come mostly from the socialist and from the developing countries).

As for what it is that these visiting foreign journalists are interested in, it is even more difficult to give any kind of a summary. The correspondents of the socialist countries' press, radio and TV are interested mainly in the experiences of our economic and political life. Not only they but reporters from the developing countries have also shown great interest in the accomplishments, methods and organizational forms of Hungarian agriculture. Their writings frequently deal with the various measures our country has taken to insure uninterrupted commodity supplies, to improve the availability of housing and to save raw and other materials.

Recently the main focus of the reports prepared by correspondents of the developed capitalist countries' news services has been on such topics as our general economic situation, Hungary's standard of living, the development of the Hungarian economic reform, membership in the World Bank and its effects, the relations between church and state, the importance and role of the so-called "opposition," etc.

Whichever category of visiting foreign journalists we may be talking about, there is one thing which applies to them all: our guests have been generally satisfied both with what they have seen and with the conditions provided for them in our country and by our official agencies, our catering and tourist industry enterprises and other institutions.

IZVESTIYA in Budapest

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian Supplement 20 Aug 83 pp 7, 8

[Interview with IZESTIYA correspondent Sergei Dardikhin by E. Sz.]

[Text] The Ripple-Ronai street study of IZVESTIYA's Budapest correspondent is dominated by the presence of a large "relic": an antique-looking, turned-legged giant desk. On it is a towering stack of newspapers and its brass-knobbed drawers contain the archives of Sergei Dardikhin.

"The correspondent office has been rearranged several times already, but somehow this desk has always stayed behind. Officially it was junked a long time ago, yet every one of my predecessors insisted on hanging onto it, carefully kept it and passed it on as a torch to their successors, treating it as a material testimony to the fact that for nearly 30 years IZVESTIYA has kept a permanent correspondent in Budapest," said the host. "I myself have worked here since 1977."

Sergei Dardikhin received his diploma from the foreign policy journalism faculty of the Moscow Institute of International Relations. He had studied Hungarian and visited our country while still a university student. After completing his university studies he spent a few years at the Moscow bureau of IZVESTIYA and later he was named permanent correspondent of the paper's Budapest office. At the time Dardikhin barely turned 26. Not only was he the youngest of the 40 IZVESTIYA correspondents working abroad, but there has probably never been a younger foreign correspondent in the history of the Soviet press. His record still has not been broken.

The relations between MAGYAR HIRLAP and IZVESTIYA go back for decades. This is due mainly to the fact that the two papers' profiles and tasks are in many ways similar.

"Our geographic proximity makes my situation relatively easy," explains Dardikhin. "The time difference is only 2 hours and since we do not come out until the afternoon I can work the same schedule as my Moscow colleagues."

Dardikhin is one of those correspondents who travel extensively and have a thorough knowledge of Hungary. His reports from the countryside and his writings introducing Hungarian enterprises, plants and producer cooperatives were featured often in IZVESTIYA and in the paper's weekend magazine, NEDELIYA. He writes frequently about the activities of the councils, the peculiarities of Hungarian public administration and the social activities of the population and about matters pertaining to the development of socialist democracy.

"Whenever I start longing for the usual bustle of the editorial office, which happens to me quite often," says Dardikhin, "I have a sure Budapest address where I can satisfy my nostalgic sentiments. I am thinking of MAGYAR HIRLAP."

After 5 years of work in Hungary, Sergei Dardikhin is preparing to go home in the fall. After a few years in Moscow, however, he will undoubtedly reclaim his seat behind the antique-looking desk at the Budapest office.

TASS Correspondent

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian Supplement 20 Aug pp 7, 8

[Interview with Yevgenii Popov, Budapest correspondent of TASS, by Endre Szalipszki: "He Started Out as an Interpreter"]



Yevgenii Popov

[Text] If Yevgenii Popov ever decides to write his memoirs, his book, in all probability, will be received with satisfaction and delight by his readers. I am not saying this merely out of a sense of esprit de corps toward a fellow journalist. Even a short sketch of the life career of TASS's Budapest bureau chief will immediately show that the above claim is well founded.

Among Soviet journalists Yevgenii Popov is considered to be an expert on Hungary. Deservedly so, for it was more than 4 decades ago that he began to study Hungarian and for many years since then he has been in constant touch with our country. One of the most memorable events of his life was the time when in 1944 he was asked to interpret for the Faragho-led Hungarian delegation in Moscow. But let us start at the beginning.

Yevgenii Popov joined the service in 1942, at the age of 18. Instead of going to the front, the young man was sent to the foreign language institute of the Soviet army. It was by mere chance that he happened to be assigned to the Hungarian section. The training he received was in the form of an intensive language training program.

"Although the war was still going strong and Hungary was fighting on the side of the enemy," said Popov, "our lady teacher made it clear to us that we were not studying the language of a hostile people. In those days there were still only a very few people in our country who spoke Hungarian. Hence, one of her arguments was that with our knowledge of the language we would be able to do a great deal to promote the strengthening of ties and the deepening of friendship between our peoples. Together with my fellow team members and with the students of the classes succeeding us we have indeed taken an active part in bringing about Soviet-Hungarian friendship and cooperation. Because of our work, many of us continue to have close ties with Hungary."

It was in 1945 that Popov spent his first few weeks in Hungary. Subsequently he served for 3 years in our country as a military interpreter for the Allied Control Commission. It was not only because of the highly responsible nature of his job that these years are so memorable for him. There was also a personal side to these times: he had come to Budapest as a young married man and it was also here in 1948 that his son Andrei was born. The son, incidentally, has followed in the footsteps of his journalist father: he is head of the Cairo office of Soviet television. His young son, Aleksander, has also become a journalist and is working at the Hungarian section of the APN news agency. He had received his diploma at the Lorand Eotvos University of Arts and Sciences.

Having returned home--still as a military officer--Popov worked at the Ministry of Defense. In October 1956 he spent a couple of difficult and extremely enlightening weeks in our country. In the second half of the 1950s he earned a law degree and later in 1960 he received a job at TASS. While already in Hungary he began to study French and was able to use the language skills he had acquired at the agency's Middle East office where he was covering the Maghreb countries. It was from this post that he was dispatched to Tunisia to report on the situation there, but by the time the Algerian war of independence began to wind down he was already in Algiers.

Upon his arrival home he became director of the news agency's Arabic office in Moscow, and in 1971 he was put in charge of the Budapest office of TASS. His present tour of duty began in 1980.

It was in 1945 that TASS's first Budapest correspondent began his work. He was still working with interpreters. Today, under Popov's direction the office has 3 journalists who speak fluent Hungarian. They are in constant telephone and telex communication with Moscow. Since the clock in the Soviet capital is "running ahead," the workday of TASS's man in Budapest starts early. His 3-4 typed page reports on the articles and news items of our 15 central daily papers are sent home at 6 o'clock in the morning. After that--relying mainly on materials from MTI [Hungarian Telegraph Office]--they write reports. In addition, they also prepare translations of articles and documents and comprehensive background materials for certain lengthier topics.

Yevgenii Popov told me: "They are trying to make the news they forward as varied and objective as possible because it is mainly on the basis of their work that Soviet readers, radio listeners and TV viewers form their images of Hungary. There is great interest in the Soviet Union in the foreign experiences of socialist construction and this also applies to Hungary's experiences and methods."

Recalling the past, Yevgenii Popov remembered the Budapest organ-grinders of the late 1940s, the icemen who on warm summer mornings like today use to sell their merchandise. And, of course, the many changes that have occurred in the past 30 years which he has followed sometimes from up close and sometimes from farther away, sometimes as a personal participant and sometimes as an observer, but always with affection for our country.

"I love Hungary because it has been an inseparable part of my entire life as well as that of my family. Nor can I be indifferent to it is my work. I believe I know this country and its people well; I have seen it in difficult situations and I have also seen its successes. I am happy about the Hungarians' achievements, and it really makes me feel good that I also have been able to contribute to making fraternal Hungary known in the Soviet Union and that I have helped to strengthen the cooperation and friendship between our peoples."

TANJUG Correspondent

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian Supplement 20 Aug 83 pp 9, 10

[Interview with Milos Corovic, permanent Budapest correspondent of TANJUG, by Viktor Palfi]

[Text] Milos Corovic, the permanent Budapest correspondent of the Yugoslav news agency TANJUG, readily accepted when he learned that a Hungarian colleague had chosen him as an interview subject. Come to think of it, why would a "hangman" be reluctant to take part in a "hanging"? After all, with more than 3 decades of professional experience behind him he has tried many roles, hence this "interchanging of positions" did not worry him.

Especially since he is a veteran yet in another respect: of all the Yugoslav correspondents he is the one who has spent the most time in our capital city. Of the past quarter of a decade--with a couple of years of interruption--he has "sacrificed" 15 years of his career to working in Budapest, which, however, he does not consider a sacrifice at all as evidenced by the fact that after the expiration of his first mandate he has always volunteered to return to his post in Budapest.



Milos Corovic

[Question] Looking back, how did your activities as a correspondent begin here?

[Answer] With a kind of minor professional initiation. The little Hungarian I knew I had learned in a crash course, and my vocabulary at the time consisted of merely 800 words. I arrived at the Keleti Railway Station in the late evening hours sometime in June 1958. I had learned from my colleagues who knew Budapest that the station post office already began selling next morning's paper around midnight. Unfortunately--or perhaps luckily?--I bought a NEPSZABADSAG there, at which time I immediately realized that I had "met my match." On the first and on the next two pages there was an important notice of international interest. I had some reason to panic. After all, I had just run into some information of first-rate importance which I definitely had to forward as fast as I could to our editorial office. It was all nice and well, but how was I going to do it with my scanty knowledge of the language and without any help? I had to take the enormously long text of the notice and condense it into 30 to 40 typed lines of dispatch news, and it was not at all without importance what I would leave out or misunderstand, for once my news agency published my report it would take on a life of its own and could create incalculable consequences. After some pondering I decided that I had to face this responsibility. I sat in the station's restaurant and--to the accompanying sound of gypsy music--after 3 hours of painful dictionary use and keeping my fingers crossed I finished a short report which I immediately forwarded to my editors via telephone. The next day and the day after I "waited for the mine to hit," but fortunately it never happened, for this unexpected report proved to be correct.

[Question] I am sure that since that time--having excellently mastered the Hungarian language and having acquired some valuable local experiences and contacts--you seldom run into unexpected situations....

[Answer] Indeed, I do not. Dramatic occurrences--fortunately--are rare. Now, however, I have to "dig for" interesting topics. My job has been made easier by the fact that the Hungarian leadership does not look upon socialism as a completed process; it takes a creative approach to making decisions and is constantly urging perfection of the reform. All of this provides a fruitful subject for the reporter.

[Question] How would you describe your working conditions, and what kind of are you getting from the authorities concerned?

[Answer] The working conditions of reporters are functions of the relations between two countries. And since our relations are good and even friendly, my working conditions are also favorable. Without having to rely on insiders I can contact virtually anyone, and I seldom run into people who are unwilling to talk. In this profession objectivity is a must, but there is also room for critical observations. Naturally, these must be presented in an acceptable manner, for searching persistently for "bad points"--and what country does not have those--does not promote understanding between the two countries and does not help the development of their ties, which is one of the main tasks of the reporter. Naturally, I am looking at Hungarian reality through Yugoslav lenses, but rather than blurring my vision they have helped me to understand its different characteristics. Our countries have many common features, such as the democratization process of society, which is the main subject of my work here. I send home an average of 25 pieces of information a month along with 10 to 15 special articles. There are several domestic papers that regularly contact me with "special orders." Since most of my writings are published, I take it as an indication that Yugoslav public opinion is interested in Hungary.

Let me add here about Milos Corovic that his contribution to promoting a better understanding of us by our southern neighbors goes beyond his work as a daily chronicler. His book, entitled "Admiral on a White Horse," in which combining the virtues of a journalist and a documentalist he paints an authentic picture of the Horthy era, was published in his country 2 years ago. He had written it as an outsider, but his work shows a good understanding of the characteristics and possibilities of that particular historical period. His work was rightly praised by Yugoslav critics--and as one who read the work I can attest to the validity of their judgment--as a work which aims to captivate the reader without doing it at the expense of objectivity.

[Question] What do you--as a professional--think about the articles that have been written about Yugoslavia in the Hungarian press?

[Answer] The writings that have appeared in the Hungarian press have been sympathetic in their approach and have reflected an understanding of our problems. Just as it is my aim here, my Hungarian colleagues have been working hard to explore the origins of the problems they discuss and to present the reader with the total process of development. Space limitations, however, present a common problem for us: we must write very succinctly. But it is an old truth in our profession that the art of writing is equivalent to the art of smart text editing.

[Question] I know from your writings that have appeared in the Yugoslav papers--since you frequently quote timely jokes--that you are predisposed to Hungarian humor....

[Answer] It has indeed rubbed off on me after all these years. The Hungarians' sense of humor, and just as importantly their self-irony, are extremely refined. I have heard a typical comment here that if the flow of jokes temporarily dries up, people begin to worry. But, of course, we hardly have to be concerned about that, since your country has always been famous for its high spirits and great sense of humor--said the veteran colleague in conclusion.

Italy's L'UNITA Correspondent

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian Supplement 20 Aug 83 p 11

[Interview with Italo Furgeri, Budapest correspondent of L'UNITA, by Jaraí: "An Average Working Day"]

[Text] It is probably his warm brown, winter coat button-like eyes which first "capture" his speaking partners' attention. The look of his eyes is not distant or dreamy, but rather detail-oriented and inquisitive. The kind that only a born journalist can have.

Italo Furgeri, the Budapest correspondent of L'UNITA, the daily paper of the Italian Commun'st Party, is indeed a real journalist. He has been wielding his pen for more than 20 years. He is 45 years old and still works with the same enthusiasm as when having graduated from the literature-history department of the University of Milan, he wrote his first article.

From the university he went straight into the world of the press, and the fact that he eventually ended up working for the paper of the Communist Party was somehow natural for him: he was born in "red" Modena. This, and of course his family upbringing, have determined his beliefs for life. And often it has taken more than just his pen to defend those beliefs; there have been some "hot" periods in his country when he had to take real action. He marched and protested, and when it was necessary he agitated and persuaded both in speech and in writing. He worked for the domestic policy column, edited the daily chronicle and eventually "ended up" in foreign policy. Finally, in March 1981, he came here to Hungary.

It has been 2 years now since he began to serve as the Hungarian correspondent for the daily paper of the PCI. During this time he has been trying, with Italian eyes, to see and understand our country and to present and convey everyday life in Hungary to his readers. Two years is a short time--during such a short period, for example, the most one can learn in Hungarian is a couple of hundred words. ("Kerek egy belszint tukortojattal" [I would like a filet mignon with an egg sunny side up. (purposely misspelled)]--he lisps with his funny Hungarian pronunciation.) Two years, however, is long enough to enable one to see more of these 93,000 square kilometers than the average tourist.

"I have been in many places and I have seen many things in this country. I have roamed it from Koszeg to Eger, from Gyor to Pecs and from Debrecen to Szombathely," he says and with a satisfied smile he adds: "Everywhere I have been I have made not only acquaintances but also friends. The saying that Hungarians and Italians are 'congenial peoples' is really true. But putting all jokes aside, I have acquired some very interesting experiences here. And I hope that I will also be able to use them in the future. To mention one specific result, I have collected my impressions in the form of a book. My volume of interviews with Rezso Nyers, in which naturally I have also tried to make use of my own experiences, will be published shortly in Italy."

[Question] What are some of these experiences?

[Answer] As far as I can tell people in general live well in Hungary. Problems, of course, such as the housing question exist here also. But then this is not a distinctly Hungarian problem. We need only think of the Italian housing situation. .. And the thing that has earned my genuine respect is the sense of security and faith in the future that keeps Hungarians working.

[Question] How would you describe one of your average working days as a reporter?

[Answer] I usually work in the morning and I have my own interpreter. The information I collect comes just as much from press conferences as from occasional friendly conversation and beer parties at the "Kedves" cafe. And when I hit upon a report idea I always get the help I need to carry it out from the people concerned. Most of the time, of course, I write news items and not reports. Often long days may go by without me putting even a single line on paper--those times I have to "recharge" myself, to gather information or simply to attend theaters and concerts. Although it is true that strictly speaking these are also sources of information.

I like to go to the theaters and the movies, and although having to rely on interpreting during performances does interfere somewhat with the full enjoyment of art, I already have some favorite Hungarian actions, just as I have favorite Hungarian foods and tourist spots. For example, I very much enjoy Hungarian-style dishes with mushrooms such as mushroom caps stuffed with goose liver, and I love to go to Tihany.

I have to admit that there is a little bit of nostalgia in this, for the Tihany landscape reminds me of the Lake Como area. I am certain, however, that once I am back in Italy again, on the Como beaches I will be thinking of the Tihany landscape by Lake Balaton.

PRESSINFORM Performs PR and Service

Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian Supplement 20 Aug 83 p 12

[Article by Peter G. Feher: "PRESSINFORM"]

[Text] Weeks before the American journalists arrived the preparatory work had begun at the "headquarters" of PRESSINFORM. Those working there knew: the

correspondents of the NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE were extremely particular, and obviously they had no intention of lowering the standard of their periodical's supplement on Hungary.

Everything went fine and nothing hindered the smoothness of the work, which went on for several months. Until one day the American press photographer announced: he would like to get a picture of a stork's nest, naturally with the clattering birds in it.

The people at PRESSINFORM, however, were only confused for a moment. They have good working relations with the editorial offices of the megye daily papers. Their colleagues in the provinces were ready to help and soon the "exact address" of the stork family was already known in Budapest. With his own 2 hands the American photographer built a 15-meter-high scaffolding right there on the spot and used it to cover for days waiting to get a picture of the storks in just the right "position."

This is just one of many stories which PRESSINFORM's small but extremely well-trained staff of workers encounters every day. Their people hold advanced degrees, speak several foreign languages and are journalists by profession or at least work in press-related fields.

Having a thorough professional knowledge is indeed essential. Last year 2,000 foreign journalists came to visit our country. Many of them came accompanying various delegations on the invitation of the main press department of the Foreign Ministry or as guests of some Hungarian professional institution. PRESSINFORM did not have much to do with them since television camera teams and radio reporters get their help from the local partners whose technical training makes this more possible. Even so, every year about 500 journalists visit PRESSINFORM, most of them representatives of the printed press. To talk about regular annual statistics at this point would take some kind exaggeration, since it was only in August 1981, on the basis of a resolution by the Council of Ministers, that PRESSINFORM first began to operate.

Its goal has been to provide help to foreign journalists who are interested in our country and want to prepare reports and travelogues in Hungary. Those who have visited us so far have had very good experiences. Many of them have indicated they would like to take advantage of PRESSINFORM's services also in the future. After they return home, our foreign colleagues pass on the institution's address to others, although visitors to Hungary could hardly miss it, given its location at one of the most beautiful spots in Budapest, on Szentharomsag Square across from the Matthias Church.

There are clear reasons why these foreign journalists are pleased. Those who get in contact with PRESSINFORM need only indicate what subjects they are interested in and shortly after that they will receive--in the language requested--all of the necessary background information. This way they will be properly prepared when they go to write their report. PRESSINFORM also arranges interview dates with the intended interviewees--and upon request often it will even select the person to be interviewed. Enjoying "home court advantage" its employees can find much more suitable interview subjects for

their foreign colleagues than the ones they themselves--after only a few days visit--may be able to "track down." Not to mention the fact that being here for the first time many of them do not speak our language. In exchange for a fee determined on the basis of international practice and exchange rates, PRESSINFORM also provides interpreters. Their work has been made considerably easier by the fact that they have established extremely good ties with the press departments of every domestic agency of nationwide authority.

Getting back to the technical details, PRESSINFORM also offers a vehicle service complete with drivers if necessary, and it organizes visits to the enterprises and cooperatives requested. In addition, it provides typewriters, cameras, tape recorders for the journalists together with anything that may be essential to do the job well. The foreign colleagues can maintain telephone and telex communications with any part of the world, and PRESSINFORM also provides foreign journalists with accommodations in Budapest and in the provinces.

In addition, PRESSINFORM also engages in organizing various events. One of their recent efforts which deserves special mentioning was the organization of the press office activities connected with the CEMA conference held in Budapest in 1982. PRESSINFORM also provided conference facilities for the UN-sponsored "Dialogue of Continents" program series, in which our country was represented by MAGYAR NEMZET. It was also at the institution's headquarters that the press conference celebrating the 10th jubilee of the periodical PANNONIA was held. In addition, PRESSINFORM also organizes professional programs, such as the reception that was held recently for the UN journalists accredited in Geneva.

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PROVINCIAL WORKERS' SELF-GOVERNMENT TASKS NOTED

Urgent Tasks for Self-Government

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 10-11 Sep 83 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Nusbek, Director of the Working Conditions Department in the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs by Teresa Kwasniewska]

[Question] In addition to the influence of personal commitment, good will and competence, the effects of our work are decided by the conditions in which we perform them. This should be obvious, but the investigations on the work place are constantly revealing new insufficiencies and drawbacks in this area, numerous threats in the form of offences against obligatory norms. What are the reasons for the above state of affairs?

[Answer] The present situation was not born in recent times but it is the result of many years' neglect. During the last 2 or 3 years we have noted a certain regression. But evaluating it generally is difficult. Among other things because the situation is very differentiated. There are plants which, despite the specifics that produce the objective prevalence of threats and burdens, reached, in terms of the safety and hygiene of work, a completely acceptable standard, and there are plants (often in the same lines of work) with highly difficult and dangerous working conditions. Annually there occur over 200,000 accidents (in 1982 223,000, that is, at a rate of 3.5 percent greater than in 1981), among them 1,200-1,400 fatal accidents and 65,000-67,000 accidents resulting in extended incapacity for work. The greatest frequency per thousand workers occurs in the plants under the following ministries: mining (40), forestry and wood industry (33), metallurgy and machine industry (26), construction (25,) and agriculture (24). It is similar in the case of the fatality index. About 1.5 million people work under conditions dangerous to their health. In 1,500 establishments there are transgressions of the permissible norms, in 400 there is a bluntly drastic violation of them. Sixty-four establishments have as much as 30 percent "quota" among the general number of sicknesses reserved for industrial illness. The reasons for this are many. Certainly the current economic situation, the effects of the economic crisis, the

limitation of the possibility for investment and modernization, fallen production, among other things indispensable for the improvement of working conditions of commodities, of technical devices, of implements, of protective clothing, and the like. With full assurance I can add a continuous and quite long range of obligations connected with the improvement of conditions for the safety and hygiene of work, the imperceptibility of their influence on the social attitude, the effects of work, productivity fluctuations and accelerated deactivization. There are also signs of ordinary carelessness, which cannot be explained by economic difficulties or by the crisis. Moreover, even in the period when we had the means or when an actual investment boom had swept over us and we were enveloped by numerous modernized enterprises, the improvement of working conditions was in some way a secondary matter. Also, the slackening of social discipline in the work place cannot be dismissed as an insignificant factor. Each worker ought to realize just what the slightest failure to obey the regulations is conducive to. Even talking about the organizing of the workplace we count too little on the needs of the human being. For example, during the construction of a machine, attention is rightly paid to the machine as the most important product. Unfortunately, often forgetting about the fact that it must be safe, that it must not deafen people by the noise it emits. In sum, that the machine ought to be adapted equally to the physical requirements and to the psychic characteristics of the person who works it.

A fairly sizeable influence on the worsening indicators was also played by the suspension of labor unions and the lack of workers' self government, which weakened social control. Hence, we welcome with hope the formation of the Social Inspectorate.

[Question] Mr Director, the assurance of the safety of work has always had a cost, but now it must cost even more. How then does the whole system for the protection of labor relate to the new economic-financial maxims that have arisen from the reform?

[Answer] To be sure, the fundamental regulations of norms for the safety and hygiene of labor ought to be independent of maxims for the management of the economy. However, the changes in the economic-financial system, in the structure of the control of the economy, and in the powers of businesses as well as other things entail essential consequences for the realization of the goals connected with the broadly conceived protection of labor.

There have been heard voices saying that "the reform has become the reason for regression in this sphere." No. The reform has simply not yet freed certain developmental trends, the motivation for the improvement in working conditions. Modernizing processes, technical progress, remains as it were out of reach of its positive operation. A great deal of harm was done here for so many years by the obligatory

command-directive system. It perpetuated the habit of launching crash programs for immediate results from the month to the next. First of all, it relied on the fulfillment of production plans, hence, as well, certain establishments continued acting without any more distant developmental perspective, aiming at gaining a return for all its costs within the extent of a single year. Seeking to cut costs, they treat the whole problem of the protection of labor as an unnecessary and only formal difficulty of the production operation. This is a brutal truth arising precisely from certain simplifications of the reform and from a lack of understanding of its foundations, its aims, but also from the initially still unrefined rules of the economic game, which in turn failed to check this shortsighted move of operation. There follow already certain changes, modifications which permit one to be an optimist. When we emerge onto the straight line of generally developmental operations, it will automatically be felt directly by the administrations of companies that there will be no talk about any kind of modern organizing of work without an improvement in the conditions of its execution. But this does not concern only the acceptance of the thesis that the matter of improvement of working conditions ought to be treated on a par with production. No, they are not an autonomous goal, but one of the important factors in the protection of the health of the worker, of the formation of proper social conditions, of the attainment of economic effectiveness. For today there are no longer those eager for work in danerous, difficult establishments. An ever higher value will be placed on working conditions, higher even than on the rate of pay. Such a trend is beginning to dominate in the world, and in our country in the near future it must also come to this. It is necessary to recognize this.

[Question] You were the chairman of the Interdepartmental Assembly, which worked out the "Report on the Matter of the Correlation of the System of Protection of Labor with the Principles of Economic Reform." What solutions do you propose? What mechanisms ought to be put into operation here?

[Answer] In the first place, our own experiences and those of other countries cause us to doubt the possibilities of thinking up any kind of miraculous methods. Nowhere under any regime do the economic instruments alone incline the employer to any undue concern about the improvement of working conditions, nor do they automatically resolve the problem. Nor is it necessary to treat our propositions as the only ones and the best ones. The foundations of the reform are constantly liable to further reformation, and after them it will be necessary to follow up with solutions touching on the protection of labor. More specifically, besides the propositions adjusted to today's so specific conditions, there are those which can betoken the future and which have a more durable character. For example, those which concern "weak" companies, which are found in difficult economic situations, where the extent of shortcomings in the safety and hygiene of work are so great, but the possibilities of improving this state of affairs and the necessary undertakings exceed the financial possibilities. Along with

the propositions must be included preferential treatment in the credit system or tax relief. Independently the economic stimuli, in our system of the protection of labor it will be necessary, however, to apply coercive means which, quite simply, punish those who neglect the obligation to establish proper work conditions for the work force.

/Question/ In other words, "hit them in the pocketbook?"

/Answer/ Yes. But not only the directorate. I am a believer in the application of sensible punishments throughout the whole company. I already hear the voices: "That is unjust. It is not enough that we work in such conditions, we still have to lose more?" There is no other way out. After all, the workers' self-government decides on the distribution of profits. It must be aware that it is jointly responsible for the higher problem.

However, money is not always the most important thing. It will not make up for shortcomings in the air conditioning-ventilation system, in tools, in internal transport, in proper lighting, constant troubles with clothing, and the like. Well, we have touched on certain preferences in relation to the producers' systems and safety and hygiene in work encouraging them to an increase in production, without which the rapid improvement of working conditions is impossible. I do not expect, however, the budget estimates proposed in the report. Not only because the budget is modest. Instead, this solution should be worked out by the custom of stretching out our hands for the means of improving working conditions.

/Interviewer/ Thank you for the interview.

Unity, Self-Government, Independence

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 12 Sep 83 p 3

/Article by W. Chelchowski/

/Text/ On 20 July of this year the Sejm passed a law on a system of people's councils and territorial self-government. On 2 September of this year I had a discussion on the subject of the new law and the current work of the Municipal People's Council /MRN/ of Bartoszyce with the aktiv of this council. In the conversation the following took part: first secretary of the PZPR Municipal Committee, Tadeus Hadał, chairman of the Municipal People's Council, Jan Ambroziak, vice chairmen of the MRN Cezary Supron, and Ryszard Wojnarowski, and city manager Jan Borodzicz. I have made extensive use of this article of the conclusions and opinions expressed in this rich and interesting discussion.

In spite of the extension of the terms of the peoples councils for another 2 years the members of the Municipal People's Council in

Bartoszyce do not feel fatigued. Of the total 60 council members, over 40 work very actively. Since spring of 1980 their commitment has even grown. A complex of committee members of the PZPR, the United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party has been working systematically. On the other hand, the activity of the group of young council members has slackened. For all practical purposes the activity of this group has ceased altogether. The presidium of the MRN has been fulfilling its goals efficiently and with great dedication as it organizes the work of the council and helps the work of the commission. In this difficult period, the busiest group has got to be the Commission for Trade and Supply. The increased interest in the area of the supply of the population displayed by Bartoszyce "Solidarity" was turned to good advantage by getting the union aktiv involved in the inspection work performed under the auspices of the Commission of Trade and Supply of the MRN. The good work of the Commission for Municipal Public Services and Agriculture deserves emphasis as well. The range of social action in people's councils is great. The new law has significantly broadened it. This has generated the necessity and possibility of social work, not only from councilors, members of the commission, but also from a broad circle of working people serving in self-government bodies made up of city and country dwellers.

The enormous gamut of topics needing solution and their variety in the working system of the councils creates broad leeway for debate, the class of opinions, disputes and consensus builds up in the search for the best solutions to problems of immediate concern to the local community. For a good atmosphere and active work can be one of the most essential and authentic "examinations" on the road to "grass-roots" national understanding. In Bartoszyce this has been glimpsed.

This goal may be served by a broad discussion concerning the new law about the system of people's councils and territorial self-government or, as some have called it, "the little constitution of national councils."

The municipal authorities of Bartoszyce speak with approval about the granting of a broad scope of duties and powers to local people's councils, the sharp curtailment of the degree to which higher authorities are able to intervene in the affairs of local authorities, and the fact that these authorities have been given the right to marshal their own resources by establishing enterprises and plants.

It is with particular approval that article 128 of the law has been received. This article states that "the mayor and manager of the city, the manager of the gmina, the manager of the city district, and the manager of the city and gmina will be chosen by the people's council." In this manner, not only has democracy in the selection of the territorial authority been broadened, but at the same time the unity of the governmental authority has been strengthened in its fundamental units.

What disturbs the representatives of territorial authorities in connection with the "little constitution?" First of all, the problem with finances. The law broadens the sources of incomes of the people's councils. The law broadens the sources of incomes of the people's councils. These sources, however, are limited to the taxes and duties from the administrative unit governed territorially and to the population, without a share in the incomes and profits of the so-called key. There remains, thus, the problem of the "little pot," that is, the share of the income of the central budget. Obviously this "little pot" is also common, socialist, worked out by all. The territorial powers have the right to share in its distribution, but this is no longer "its own" income as such, rather it is somewhat as if it were "begged" or often obtained as a result of complicated operations. Therefore, another instrument which will be so very important is the long awaited statute on the budgetary law, regulating in detail the financial side of the activities of people's councils.

So in the final accounting, the limits of self-government and independence of the territorial authorities will be defined by the financial security of the economic and social activity. The representatives of the Bartoszyce authorities postulate a further decentralization in the administration of the municipal government. The city possess its own Enterprise for Communal and Residential Administration. It is concerned with the exploitation and repair of residences which will be in its administration (in very limited quantities, when new residential construction is carried out chiefly by cooperatives), with the condition of streets, with municipal parks, and with various services.

The basic services for the population, i.e., the water supply, sewer drainage, and residential heating, belong to the scope of duties of the provincial enterprises. The Municipal Enterprise for Residential Administration in Bartoszyce will, in a short time, be in a position to undertake a range of duties exchanged from the provincial enterprises. Considering the fact that this is a municipal enterprise, overseen by local authorities, this guarantees that the community will be able to obtain good service in this area.

The new law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government goes into full effect only on 1 July 1984. Is it necessary to wait all the way to this deadline for its realization? In the Bartoszyce government the conviction exists that by using the existing ordinances and "the spirit" of the "little constitution of people's councils" it is not necessary to delay its realization.

In the first place, it has been recognized that it is necessary for the council members, the members of commissions, the broad aktiv of the party, and the political fronts, as well as the PRON, to become familiar with the law. In this period there exists a heavy demand for training materials with good commentary and for instructors from the provincial level.

In light of the new law, the people's councils are becoming in principle the center of self-government. The councils use the help and initiative of union organizations, of workers' self-government, of youth and women's organizations, of cooperative organizations, and of other social organizations. They share their help in the realization of the aims and social duties of these organizations. The law defines many types of collaborative partnerships and cooperation between people's councils and social organizations. This cooperation may contribute greatly to the better resolution of numerous matters in its territory. And many such matters, often urgent, are waiting for resolution, including though it may be an insignificant thing, fuel storage in Bartoszyce. During a certain period, the enterprises for the trade of fuel were liquidated, and the supplies of fuel for cities also were handed over to rural cooperatives. In the most recent period the enterprises for fuel trade were reactivated with the explanation that they were better able to provide service in this area for the municipal population. However, the self-governing and independent Council of the Gmina Cooperative "Rural Self-Help" in Bartoszyce forbade the transfer of the fuel warehouse. And it had a complete right to do this. The MRN, in spite of its desire to provide assistance to the new enterprise for the handling of fuel, is helpless. Perhaps the new level of cooperation will permit the resolution of even such petty "discrepancies in the bosom of the folk."

The matter of the use of broadly understood self-government, even in the instance of the actions of people's councils, is an immensely difficult problem. It is necessary, however, to understand it, and to gain the experience which is so necessary in this domain.

The MRN in Bartoszyce intends to start its work in this area by setting up a commission to handle self-government affairs.

In recent years in Poland there has been a significant weakening of activity in the area of volunteer public works projects. In Bartoszyce it is not quite this way. During the past year within the framework of volunteer public works projects there was transferred to the community of Bartoszyce a Sunday rest center in Kinkajmy. During the present year all the efforts that went into a fund drive were concentrated on the collection of enough money to finance the construction of a regional hospital. To date there have been collected 1.5 million zloty.

The Presidium of the MRN in Bartoszyce is considering in what way it can increase the contact of the councilors with voters. The appearance of councilors at different gatherings only "on occasion," which was the practice in the years 1980-1982, is not sufficient. At the beginning of the present year, before the session dealing with the plan and budget for the year 1983, there were held special meetings of the councilors with factory workers and with people in their homes. The debate held during this session confirmed that the results of these meetings enriched equally both the speeches made by councilors and the documents endorsed at that session. This type of meeting of councilors with voters is expected to continue.

In the work of a people's council the most essential thing is the atmosphere in which the councilors, the members of the commission, and the executive apparatus work. In Bartoszyce it is good. It is created by the agreeable and partner-like cooperation of the municipal branches of the PZPR, United Peasant Party, and the Democratic Party.

12469

CSO: 2600/1338

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Trade Unions After 8 Months

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 83 p 3

[Text] Eight months ago new trade unions began their normal statutory activity. Since that time, the union movement which was established anew has become an important social force, and its ranks are steadily growing.

There are currently 17 trade unions which total 3.2 million members. These figures change every day as new members join. In 90 percent of the enterprises authorized to establish unions, active union organizations, initiative groups, and founding committees exist.

The level of development of the union movement is of course varied, as is true of every process which comes about in a natural manner. In addition, the establishment of trade unions is taking place during a time of fierce political battles and boycott attempts, which necessitates the surmounting of bureaucratic barriers caused at times by the administration, and also by mistrust on the part of some of the workers. In 16 provinces over 30 percent of the employees belong to trade unions. These include Biala Podlaska, Kielce, Koszalin, Katowice, Olsztyn, and Torun. In five other provinces--Gdansk, Tarnow, Wroclaw, Lodz, and Walbrzych--the unions encompass less than 20 percent of the work force.

Numerous differences among the factories are also hidden among the average statistics given; for example, at the Marcel Nowotko Steelworks in Ostrowiec Swietokrzyski over 9,000 are union members, at the Lenin Steelworks over 6,000 are members, while at the Ciegelski Plant there are 2,800, at the FSO [Automobile Plant] in Warsaw there are 1,500 and at Pafawag a little over 600 members.

The movement's composition attests to its authenticity. The workers constitute 80 percent of the trade union membership. Members of all former union movements are participating in the reconstruction of the unions.

The majority of the union members are non-party members. The curious thing is that in the elections where democratic rules are strictly adhered to, and

this is a characteristic of the new unions, party members frequently receive the mandate.

The process of establishing the trade union movement has entered upon a higher organizational level. In the newer branches of the economy and in the work places, national union organizations are being established. Several of them have already been registered. The first, the Federation of Metallurgical Industry Trade Unions, has already had its founding congress. If further proposals on the initiation of activity this year are considered by the State Council and subsequent supra-union organizations are registered by the court, then we can expect that founding congresses of over a dozen national organizations will be held by November 1983, and will include large work communities.

Rules on Formation of Federations

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by St Gwozdz]

[Text] As we have already reported, the IV Nationwide Conference of the Founders of Trade Union Federations of the Metal and Electro-machinery Industry [FZZPMiE] was held in Lublin on 26 August. Over 217 factory union representatives from around the nation attended the meeting, and met to act upon the mandate of their factory organizations, to discuss matters pertaining to the establishment of the FZZPMiE, as well as a future meeting of the supra-factory organization in October.

The federation founding committee [KZ] has its temporary headquarters in Poznan, and 323 union organizations out of the 450 authorized in the entire country have applied for membership in it, representing up to 14 provinces. On 15 August, FZZPMiE KZ members filed documents with the State Council and the Provincial Court in Warsaw, and as expected the federation will shortly obtain official legal status and approval for its activities.

The following represent federation objectives:

- the adaptation of work laws to current requirements and needs of the workers;
- cooperation in shaping the national socioeconomic situation by eliminating any phenomena of inefficient management and incompetence;
- active participation in the establishment of a national income, and its equitable distribution;
- conducting ongoing studies and analyses on expenditures for the cost of living;
- the establishment of suitable conditions for satisfying the public's housing needs.

At the beginning of the session, the participants addressed an appeal, on the eve of the 44th anniversary of the outbreak of World War II, in which they demanded increased efforts at preserving peace.

In the appeal addressed to the workers of the world we read that "1 September 1939 distinguished itself as a tragic day in our nation's history. On that day the Nazi onslaught brought death, conflagration, and destruction upon Poland. It also signaled the bloodiest war and brought death to many millions in 61 nations throughout the world. The Polish nation was doomed by the plans of the fascist criminals to complete annihilation, and suffered painful losses in which 6 million Poles were murdered, and 38 percent of the national wealth was lost, as well as the destruction of many cities and villages, and tremendous human suffering. The concentration camps in Oswiecim, Treblinka, Soliborz, Sztutowo, Majdanek, and others gained fame because of this tragedy. We cannot forget about them and with each anniversary of that September we will remind the world of the Nazi atrocities. The Allied victory did not entirely destroy fascism. In certain nations, Nazi ideas continue to be revived by Hitler's followers, and many former murderers are walking about free. They aggravate cold war tensions, and demand boundary revisions of the Oder and Neisse Rivers.

And 38 years after the historic victory in Berlin, Europe and the world are once again tense. Today the West speaks about initiating nuclear war. The planned European deployment of new types of American medium-range missiles and the American program for the development of the neutron bomb signifies a return of policy of a posture of strength, thus threatening the security of the world. The accumulated nuclear weapons arsenal may cause the destruction of the entire world.

We, the trade unionists gathered in Lublin at the IV Nationwide Conference of the Founders of Trade Union Federations of the Metal and Electromachinery Industry, submit our resolute protest against further armaments escalation in Europe. On the 44th anniversary of that tragic September, we appeal to all the progressive forces in the world who desire peace to create a unified front. We will not permit a renewal of this 20th century tragedy. We will not be robbed of a peace which was purchased with great sacrifice.

No More War!!!

Signed by the participants of the IV Nationwide Conference of the Founders of the Federations of Trade Unions of the Metal and Electromachinery Industry."

The members then made their way to Majdanek to the monument honoring those who had perished in this camp, and laid a wreath with the inscription "to the victims of the Nazi atrocities."

The working session of the meeting was opened with a discussion of the proposed electoral law. The discussion was animated, especially insofar as it pertained to the method for election of the chairman. Some of the participants felt that he should be elected from among the representatives of the Federation Council (a 50-person organization in charge when the congress is not in session),

others supported the proposal that the chairman be elected from among all the congress delegates. Following a vote, the first proposal was adopted.

Following the introduction of corrections, the union members approved an electoral law proposal. They also debated upon the possibility of appointing at this time a resolutions and proposals commission, and a congressional commission. Amendments and changes to the labor code, collective agreements and worker qualifications were also proposed.

The participants appointed a group which will develop the federation's position insofar as changes in the incentive system are concerned by 5 September 1983. In mid-September, this proposal will be presented at the Krakow meeting of Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry and Labor, Wages and Social Affairs representatives.

A categorical proposal was made to the government and press organs to the effect that, if the unions were consulted on a specific matter and official information were presented, then it would be necessary to name the unions with whom the consultation had been carried out.

A group was also appointed which would reanalyze all agreements and proposed agreements negotiated between the government, the ministries concerned and the trade unions since 13 December 1981.

Chelm Unionists Meet Provincial Representatives

Lublin SZTADAR LUDU in Polish 30 Aug 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (gaj)]

[Text] A meeting between a 100-person group of trade union representatives from Chelm Province and provincial officials was held yesterday (29 August) in Chelm. Participants at the meeting, convened on the initiative of the Provincial Information Advisory Group and the Trade Union Matters Group, included, among others, Alojzy Zielinski, Chelm provincial governor; Grzegorz Szyszkowski, PZPR Provincial Committee secretary, directors of the UW [Provincial Office], and commercial and service enterprise representatives.

At the outset, the union aktiv was familiarized with the current situation which exists in the trade unions, and with the economic proposals accomplished in Chelm Province during the past 7 months.

Currently 121 union organizations are registered in Chelm, encompassing approximately 16,000 members. Seven additional proposals on registration were submitted to the Provincial Court in Lublin. The majority of the active union organizations express the desire to join the supra-factory organizations. This is particularly true of the agricultural sector, light industry, the machine industry, the cement and construction industries, the health care sector and the commercial sector.

The union aktiv representatives emphasized in their candid discussion that the union, which serves as the real spokesman for workers' concerns, must begin to take a more active role. Currently the factories lack information concerning union activities. Unions also do not possess their own press in whose columns they would not only present information on the trade union movement, but also materials which could be utilized in daily aktiv work.

In many discussions it was also emphasized that there is minimal knowledge insofar as legal codes and regulations concerning union activity are concerned. This is the principal reason for interference by the administration or by workers' councils in the affairs of trade unions. These matters therefore require regulation on the provincial level.

Many critical comments emphasizing the inadequate supply of clothing, shoes and other items in stores were addressed to the commercial sector.

Many proposals concerned the workers themselves. Several leading unions noted the need for increasing the supplies of cleaning products in the factories. This chiefly concerned the excessively low payments which the workers receive in order to launder their own protective clothing. The need for improved supplies in the factory cafeteria, particularly chicken and cold drinks, was also emphasized.

In turn Gracjan Adamczewski, the spokesman for the union organization at the Cement Works in Chelm, shared his impressions of the union aktiv meeting in Katowice in which he had participated.

At the closing of the meeting Alojzy Zielinski, the Chelm provincial governor, summed up the meeting, and went along with all the comments and proposals submitted.

Plant Conflicts, Misunderstandings on Trade Unions

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 5 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Wojciech Jaros]

[Text] Refusing to divulge information, the secretary adhered to his principles. He has nothing against the press and is willing to discuss his organization, but not the matter which I am asking him about. He believes that discussing the topic will damage the party's interests, not his own, not those of the Plant Committee, but those of the entire PZPR. After all, the matter is well known at higher levels, and here the secretary cleverly evaded the issue by not saying outright but by suggesting that the opinions on those levels were similar. Or simply that there is nothing to discuss.

Therefore, since the matter is complex, does it not have to be discussed? All the more so, since it is not a secret, and several thousand factory workers are

aware of it. Is it worthwhile to wait until Radio Free Europe talks about it in order to then become incensed with the silence on the part of our propaganda? Joint activities of party organizations and party press should not be interpreted by their silence. On the other hand, the point is fulfillment of a leadership role, or simple adherence to principle.

Initially the Leadership Hid Its Head in the Sand

When martial law was declared, the party organizations apportioned their members according to their activities. In particular they supervised the reaction of members to the IV Central Committee Plenum resolution, which concerned the need for self-management, and how they abided by the party line which, after all, is not a debating club which joins together people of basically varying opinions. At the same time, a group of mid- and senior-level technical supervisory personnel, in the factory which I am discussing, were deprived of their party recommendation, which is essential to the carrying out of their management functions. The principle that an individual in charge of a group must possess, in addition to his professional expertise, an ability to provide the best working conditions, and also the proper political qualifications, always was and still is obligatory. Through his beliefs he influences his subordinates, and while working for the socialist state he is obligated to give them models which are compatible with the premises of the system.

In a specific case withdrawal of the recommendation, as I found out, occurred as a result of an ostentatious turning in of party cards by the supervisory personnel, and transforming it into a political demonstration. I do not know what really happened. Not everyone believes that those individuals did this purely for demonstration purposes, there are those who maintain that some of the employees only sent a letter to the Plant Committee which in turn took the decision to expel them from the PZPR, and treated the withdrawal of their recommendation in purely formal terms, without discussion, without any attempt at understanding their motives. Of course there were not small children but adults, confident in what they had done, and which side they supported, abandoning the party in its hour of need. Unequivocally, they then declared whether they supported or opposed the party and socialism in Poland. On the other hand, however, one can use the argument of going stray, demonstrating a preoccupation with demagogic slogans, and detachment from the peasant reality. Consequently, was it necessary to reject these individuals, or rather attempt to lead them onto the right track? The determination of this belongs rather to the party control commission. In any case a residue remains.

The recommendations were withdrawn and nothing happened. Months passed and ultimately the factory management, also reconsidered by the party, was in no hurry to reach a conclusion, or in other words remove those individuals who had occupied management positions and had been punished. Meanwhile a trade union was established. Initially it was small, but it grew and increased in significance. Thus, over a year later, the management recognized that it had replacements for the positions occupied by those whose recommendations had been withdrawn, and changes could now be made. Those punished by the party were by and large union members. Several of them were appointed as union delegates.

It is not surprising that only some of them calmly agreed to accept lower positions. The remainder appealed to the labor court, and received union support.

Some believe that if these individuals had been removed from their positions in January or February 1982 there would not have been any problems. They would have realized that they had gotten off lightly. Now, however, when we speak officially about a policy of understanding we must also include disagreements!

The Court Decision, Was It Correct or Official?

The appellants won the case in the mediation commission, and the Regional Labor Court. On the one hand, the court failed to perceive their professional offenses, which could have led the factory to suffer material losses and loss of ability to manage the workers. On the other hand, we could simply ask whether the trade union had been consulted on the proposed removal. If not, then the management had violated the Labor Code laws. They were ordered to reinstate the employees to their former positions.

I heard opinions that such a court was revolutionary. How so? It is the committee which makes a decision, while the court places obstacles and makes it impossible to carry out the decision, and moreover impairs the leadership role of the PZPR.

Here one must also ask in what manner that leadership role is to be carried out. Would it be through the issuance of decisions and recommendations which would force the court to change its decision? Of course not, but rather through PZPR members, who through their activities in various communities, and institutions would put party policy into practice. Through their vigilant participation, nonformalized opinions of the world, and ability to convince others that the decision was justified. Generally speaking the PZPR statute is treated in just such a manner.

Incidentally, where were those colleagues who work in factory management? Why did they postpone action on matters relating to the withdrawal of recommendations? Were they less aware of the situation than their Plant Committee colleagues, were they not fully convinced about the propriety of the decision, and therefore delayed its implementation? Were they not obligated by the principle of democratic centralism which states that discussion and varied opinions upon a given matter are permissible up to the time that the law is passed. Because at that time they must abide by it. It was precisely this matter which I wanted to discuss with the secretary, and he declined.

The unionists in the factory do not involve themselves in such considerations. Within their ranks there are PZPR members who concentrate their efforts upon the official and legal side of the problems, and do not feel that the support provided to the members of their union is compatible with party interests. If this is so, then perhaps...but why complicate one's life and that of the Plant Committee by bringing out unessential claims, since with the exception of that one matter, joint cooperation is proceeding successfully. They can also cite examples of mutually satisfactory resolution of numerous matters. This,

of course, does not change the fact that if disagreements occur at some later time, union recognition and respect for the leading role of the party and the resultant responsibility for factory personnel policy will demonstrate that labor regulations are obligatory in the PRL (are compatible with party policy). As a result the union will demand their observance.

On his part, the secretary observes union activities. If it happens that union activists who are also party members deviate politically, he will apply the principle which defines the obligations of party members who work in all communities and organizations. He will then consider union leadership party members as party colleagues who are obligated to observe the party line.

One Cannot Pretend That the Matter Does Not Exist

I will not name the factory, but we will use it as an example. It will teach us how delicate a matter it is to fulfill one's leadership role. Not on the central levels, nor in the Sejm, nor the State Council, but at the lowest level by the basic party organizations, by the plant committees, and the management. This demonstrates that it is far easier to make a decision than to convince even party members that the decision was just, and enlist their assistance in its implementation. Hiding one's head in the sand, remaining silent, and pretending that everything is fine while the matter is slowly forgotten is a solution which leads nowhere. We must simply say that in a specific case, either the recommendations were withdrawn justifiably and those individuals must be removed from their jobs, or else that the decisions were rash. In that case, one needs to put personal animosity and hurt feelings aside and rescind the decisions. There can be no third solution.

Incidentally, I am curious what the readers think of this subject....

12229

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PZPR OFFICIAL LAUDS RECENT PROGRESS IN PARTY EDUCATION

Warsaw ZYCIE PARTII in Polish No 19, 14 Sep 83 pp 5, 10

[Article by Janusz Janicki, deputy director of the Ideological Department of the PZPR Central Committee: "There Is Progress, But an Offensive Is Needed"]

[Text] All evaluations of the completed 1982-83 party school year must take into consideration the specifics of the year resulting from the fact that it was a period of reactivation of the party's educational activity. In 1981, this activity was seriously limited and in actuality led only to teachers' meetings. An emergence from this impasse became possible thanks to a general strengthening of the party, an overcoming of the ideological-political crisis in which it found itself, and the reconstruction of the previously violated mechanisms of internal party life.

A program for the development of PZPR ideological education was worked out and approved by the Central Committee Secretariat of the PZPR (in June 1982). Its main idea was that the statutory meetings of the party organizations would be accountable for the required educational tasks. In this way the basic and general form of party education adopted the form of ideological meetings of the POP [basic party organization], which were to take place at a minimum of every two months and discuss problems selected from among seven centrally designated topics. Besides this, three other educational forms were anticipated: development of members who have been in the party a short time, instructing of candidates, and broadening the knowledge of the party aktiv, mainly through WUNL (evening universities of Marxism-Leninism), and through ideological-theoretical courses and conferences.

The work undertaken last year on the reconstruction of the educational activity of the party brought certain positive results. Two of them are worthy of particular emphasis. A new system of party instruction was created, propagated, and tested in practice. A form of required ideological meetings of the POP undertaking a centrally designated problem was adopted. Other elements of this system also started to function, though with varying success. Positive experiences resulted in the principles accepted last year becoming, with minor corrections, the foundation of regulations confirmed by the Central Committee Secretariat for educational work in 1983-84.

A major positive occurrence, however, was the initiation of party instruction in the majority of party organizations. In all the voivodships, from 50 to 70 percent of these organizations realized from three to five of the topics assigned by the Politburo. After an almost 2-year period of standstill in educational work, the barrier of inertia was broken in this important area of internal party life.

On the positive side for last year, note must be made of the development of a network, and of WUML courses (about 750 branches and over 800 courses), the teaching of a number of courses for the party aktiv, and ideological-theoretical conferences (especially on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the Polish workers' movement) and also intensive work with teachers. The Central Committee teachers alone held more than 3,000 meetings.

In some voivodships, interesting initiatives were undertaken in the development of political work with the aktiv. In Opole and Czestochowa, schools for worker activists were created. An activist school was started in Szczecin. A special program of educational activity in the country was realized in Bialystok voivodship. In Czestochowa a systematic organization of courses for lecturers and teachers was started in the area of methods of party instruction.

Also created was a voivodship infrastructure for party instructional work in the form of a network of voivodship centers for ideological development, though in four voivodships they have still not been inaugurated.

This state of affairs denotes distinct progress in comparison with the situation in 1981, and from this perspective must be evaluated positively. But fully justified and even indispensable is another view of the level of education, not through the low threshold of a new start after an inactive period but through the prism of the current ideological needs of the party.

In this framework the state of educational work must call forth many reservations and justifiable bases for concern. We are aware that, despite a successful start, this work has still not encompassed many units of the party. From 20 to 30 percent of the party organizations in general have not begun instructions or have simulated it with only one meeting. This applies above all to organizations in small plants as well as in rural areas, but concerns other communities as well.

The level of instruction varied. Not infrequently, the meetings were well prepared, the discussion had an authentic character and contained many interesting points, especially when topics devoted to the attitude of the party member of social justice, democracy and self-government in the program of the PZPR were discussed. However, weak meetings predominated. Classes which by name were ideological were dominated by organizational problems. The instructional part was limited to the reading of a short report which often was made up of fragments copied from auxiliary materials.

Concerning the work of WUML's, the development of their network, as well as the quantitative and qualitative strengthening of their cadre were not accompanied by appropriate study effectiveness. This mainly came from the fact

that part of the students were enrolled incidentally. They did not know the purpose of raising their political qualifications and did not know how they would be able to utilize them. This affected attendance and activity during studies. The greatest difficulties with the studies were had by WUML with young students. Part of the echelons of youth organizations showed a lack of interest with this form of instruction of its aktiv.

In general it can be stated that despite the number of positive phenomena, the educational work of the party is characterized by a number of significant weaknesses. It has still not included all the units of the party, leaving many "blank spots," it is often characterized by a predominance of formalism over an authentic dissemination of ideological content, and it is in general not very effective.

The way to change this state of affairs leads above all through an awakening within the party of a general interest, through ideological development. The basis of this activity should be the knowledge that the work on the assimilation of Marxist ideology and the obtaining of political knowledge is one of the basic duties of every member of the party. Fulfillment of duties which the party statutes set before us is not possible without constant ideological enrichment. From this comes the right of enforcing participation in party instruction as a statutory duty to all the members of the party. It is necessary to use these arguments, though with full awareness of the fact that they cannot be the sole arguments. Real interest in party education can be awakened by subject matter which interests the recipient and will convince him of his need of it.

Among the many ways of realizing this postulate, one can mention the close relationships between the process of education and social realities, insured by a selection of topics responding to current, weighty problems, and by operating by means of argumentation which fits the current interests of the listener. Consideration of the specifics of the community in which classes are held, and relating the discussed problem to the realities of the given community, work place, etc., is necessary.

In aiming at a "regionalization" of instructional work in ideology, it is necessary to be aware of the danger of narrow educational pragmatism, an escape from broader and more general ideological-political problems. Such a tendency occurs fairly commonly and is expressed in the restriction of the interest of the participants in instruction to matters lying within the sphere of their direct experience, related to their everyday problems. This is in conflict with the essence of instructional work, which on one hand should not be "somewhere in the clouds" but on the other cannot keep from undertaking general topics from the theoretical Marxist-Leninist base.

They interest the listener providing that it is seen to that classes have a high meritorial and methodological level. Though it becomes trite, it is still worth repeating constantly that the condition of effectiveness of educational work is giving substantial content in an accessible and attractive form. Care for the correctness and simplicity of language, for doing away with set patterns and formalism, for selecting a suitable form of conducting the

classes, is imperative. Last year's experience shows that the most desirable form is the short lecture with a developed discussion.

Fulfillment of these conditions depends on the expertise of the persons doing the instructing. One can say without exaggeration that the teachers and lecturers of party instruction determine the effectiveness of the party's educational work. Thus, the great import of constant care for proper selection of the educational cadre, for a suitable meritorial and methodological level, and for fitting conditions for its work.

Last year, in all voivodships, systematic work was carried out with the educational cadre, most often based on ROPP's [regional party work centers] or first-level echelons, which was all the more necessary because during the last 2 years there occurred a considerable turnover of teachers and lecturers of party instruction. These activities were not adequate, however. In particular, WUML's, which should be the main base of developing the party's educational cadre, were utilized to an insufficient degree.

The practice of using outside lecturers recruited from the voivodship party cadre for instructional meetings became fairly commonplace. This is a fully justifiable practice, especial' under present conditions when a number of party organizations (especially small ones) are not able to undertake instruction without outside help. It will be necessary to develop and strengthen this help, which surely will be simplified by the decision of the Central Committee Secretariat placing on all political workers of the party apparatus the duty of carrying on instruction.

It is necessary, however, to be sure that this external help does not demoralize party organizations, which repeatedly have restricted their initiative to establishing the times of school meetings, being satisfied with passively listening to the speeches of the teacher or lecturer. Such a situation is in contrast with the essence of educational work, which should be organized and conducted by the party organizations themselves, becoming in this way a factor in activating this work, and also in its ideological integrations.

Speaking about arousing in the party a general interest in ideological development, I have in mind not only the matter of instructional content getting through to the participants, but also, and perhaps above all, the place of educational work in the whole of party activity. We have not reached a satisfactory state in this area.

Last year's progress was the result of the work and involvement of the cadre of organizers of party instruction. The ideological sections of the echelons of the party apparatus (especially the provincial centers for ideological education [WOKI]) put much effort into party instruction. One would have to say however, that in the entire party, this work did not occupy a position which would correspond to its importance and significance.

One encounters the opinion that at present the whole concern of the party should be concentrated on political and economic matters, and that ideology can be taken up later after the political situation is stabilized and the

economic crisis is overcome. This view is basically erroneous. There is a close relationship between ideology, politics and economics, and the situation in one of these areas always affects the other two. A misunderstanding of these relationships was one of the causes of the crisis which we are now going through.

The political battle going on at present requires an active involvement of the party as a whole, not only of its echelons and administrative structures, but of all its members. To the attack of the opponent we must answer with our own political and ideological offensive. The constant mistrust of the policies of our party by a segment of society requires the ability to persuade, to operate by means of proper arguments, bravely to enter into discussion with the doubtful, but also with the political opponents. Meanwhile, it is known that we are not always visible where the rights of the party must be stated in an unequivocal way, decisively and firmly.

Without developing this widely segmented ideological work without general ideological development, we will not achieve the aggressiveness on the part of the whole party which is currently so necessary.

The time for the 13th Central Committee Plenum, devoted entirely to matters of ideology, is drawing near. It will take place at the beginning of the party instructional year. This creates a good occasion for accenting the importance of the educational problem and for its strong establishment in the life of the party. We cannot waste this opportunity.

9915

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PARTY POLICY SUPPORTED BY SOCIOCULTURAL PRESS

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 16 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Unattributed article: "Editors Debate in Bydgoszcz; How the Sociocultural Press Supports Party Policy; PZPR Central Committee Secretary W. Swirgon and Deputy Premier M. Rakowski Among the Debates' Participants"]

[Text] In Bydgoszcz a 2-day nationwide conference of the editors-in-chief of sociocultural periodicals began yesterday. The highest party executives were represented at the council by Polish United Workers Party Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon and Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski. Present were: director of the Culture Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Witold Nawrocki; deputy director of the Press, Radio and Television Department of the PZPR Central Committee, Jerzy Slabicki; deputy chairman of the Main Board of the Worker's Cooperative Publishing House [BSW] "Prasa-Ksiazka Ruch," Bronislaw Stepien. The voivodship authorities were represented by: first secretary of the PZPR Provincial Committee, Henryk Bednarski; chairman of the Provincial People's Council [WRN], Brigadier General Franciszek Kaminski; Bydgoszcz Governor Bogdan Krolewski.

H. Bednarski stated, in greeting those gathered, that the need to organize this type of forum had been discussed for a long time. The changing situation in the country and the magnitude of the new phenomena that evolved among creative circles, among other events, urged the organization of such a forum. Therefore, stated the first secretary of the party Provincial Committee, in view of the sociopolitical situation in the country, the essential tasks are to outline the actual premises of cultural policy and to exchange the opinions on the most important problems that preoccupy editorial staffs of sociocultural periodicals. It is necessary to answer for oneself the question of whether these periodicals support the party policy well, and whether they are effective in leading the struggle for the hearts and minds of the people who hesitate in face of difficult choices and the complicated situation in the nation.

Then H. Bednarski characterized the situation of culture in the Bydgoszcz Voivodship. He stated, among other things, that the local cultural circles

did not undergo as deep a shock as had occurred in other centers lately. That was possible, to a considerable measure, because of sincere talks between the authorities and the creative people, and because of the mutual search for the solutions to problems as they arise.

The speaker focussed on the latest steps undertaken to increase the importance of Bydgoszcz as a cultural center. Among these steps are the construction of a music hall and of a printing complex, and the activities of the "Promerze" publishing house, which has been in existence for 1 year.

W. Nawrocki delivered a paper entitled, "On Some Cultural Policy Problems." (We have published the discussion of this presentation separately.)

Jan Gorec-Rosinski, editor-in-chief of FAKTY, was the first discussant. (His journal is currently celebrating its 25th anniversary.) His appearance was devoted to the peculiar collision that exists between the local and the central periodicals.

Culture has universal dimensions, he said. That is why we must not consider it on the regional level. Each weekly is regional to the extent that it limits itself exclusively to the problems of the region. The administrative reform, to a large extent, has led to the disappearance of local color and native tradition. These values need to be defended. That is why our publications must be interregional in nature. This is the only condition through which they can be partners in the contemporary situation. We must realize, however, that these periodicals lack the intellectual background and the sources of information. Moreover, they must overcome the peculiar mythology of certain names known from the central press.

Jan Gorec-Rosinski suggested forming a council at the central level which would devote itself to pointing the directions in which the work of the local periodicals ought to move. This is important since, in view of the dissolution of creative unions, the sociocultural periodicals have become the collective representative of the party's policy.

Jerzy Lisowski, editor-in-chief of TWORCZOSC, discussed the problem of the literary milieu. Speaking about the dissolution of the ZLP [Polish Writers Union], he pointed out the negative results of this decision for more than just the literary milieu. However, he stated that nobody can remove the responsibility for the situation which has arisen from the members of the former management of this union. Polish literature is one, irrespective of geographic longitude; however, its pantheon is here, by the banks of the Vistula River, for its readers are here. Cultural policy, which consists of taking the middle road between different artistic and political attitudes, represents our mutual achievement. That is why, said the speaker, of late the signals concerning the procedure of our cultural administration must be alarming. This procedure differs from the party's and government's policy principles in other areas of life, and leads to a hard position toward other modes of thought on the role of the creative artist and creativity.

Zefiryn Jedrzynski, editor-in-chief of GAZETA POMORSKA, devoted his speech to the role of the dailies in the shaping of the creative milieu. The local papers have an impelling need to work out a program of mutual cooperation with literary youth. Our paper receives much prose and poetry. The problem is not exclusively in the printing. Continuous talk with the young creative artists is also of importance. We find a great neglect in popularizing the achievements of the provincial (conventionally understood) writers. Therefore, the task of the regional papers is to present to the whole country the achievements of the local writers.

Jan Goczol voiced the need to define the status of the local newspapers. Up until now that status has been fuzzy and ambiguous, and this threatens the existence of these papers. Janusz Koniusz (of NADODRZE) asked a question: What is in our system 'a union of creative people'? In his opinion, the writers' union is of the least need to the most outstanding writers. However, the existence of such a union is indispensable to other writers. The future union must preserve the principle of separating the work from its creators.

After the lunch break four more discussants took the podium. Their statements contained the elements of the debate on the topics that were discussed during the first part of the conference as well as the proposals to work out some new solutions.

In these presentations a lot of time was devoted to the problems of mass culture widely accessible to and approved by the society. Zbigniew Klaczynski stated, among other things, that it was necessary to define the goals, criteria and the requirements placed on those who create and to see that these requirements are being fulfilled. Pawel Soroka spoke in favor of a stronger development of popular culture, which enjoys a wide circle of recipients. At the same time, this culture should maintain its high artistic values. Much of his speech was devoted to the problems of the workers' creative cultural associations. Eugeniusz Kabac's appearance contained, among other topics, the postulate of decreasing the distance between the elitist (artistic) and the mass culture, of creating a platform of creative activity for particularly talented young people, of shaping the future writers' union so that it would subsume the ZLP's experience of many years. This experience guaranteed that the realization of the state's cultural policy and the activities of the union were congruous with one another and beneficial to Polish literature. As Jacek Synski stated, the struggle for the society's consciousness and identity must take place on positive foundations. Society rarely uses marxist criteria to evaluate social and cultural phenomena, because society does not know these criteria well. Therefore, an improvement in this respect will not occur without educating the cadres of the marxist creative intelligentsia.

The deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, Mieczyslaw P. Rakowski, and PZPR Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirgon also spoke during the council meeting.

Deputy Premier Rakowski presented an analysis of the Polish sociopolitical situation. He indicated that there were many symptoms of improvement in the functioning of the economy, of positive stabilization of social moods. However, these phenomena cannot in any case signify the achievement of a state of justifiable satisfaction.

PZPR Central Committee Secretary Waldemar Swirzon presented our country's cultural policy principles. They result both from the course of our political and social events and from the situation existing within the creative milieu and associations. During a break in the conference of the editors-in-chief, the participants visited the construction sites in service to culture in Bydgoszcz: the opera and the RSW printing complex.

Yesterday in Bydgoszcz Deputy Premier M. P. Rakowski met with the students of the Intervolvodship Party School. He answered many questions concerning the political, economic and social life.

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PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION DEVELOPMENTS REPORTED

Trade Union Development in Chorzow Area

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 14 Sep 83 p 4

[Article entitled: "In Chorzow's Czystosc Enterprise We Became Fond of Such a Need"]

[Text] Gabriela Skop, chairperson of the new trade union established in the Chorzow cooperative, Czystosc, says: "Professional trade unions have existed in our cooperative for as long as we can remember. The old workers' trade union operated well and we were satisfied with it. For this reason, when it became possible to again pick up with this activity, we set out to establish a professional trade union."

That Which Is Most Important

The first issue undertaken even during the organizational efforts leading to registration had to do with social questions: the payments of grants and allowances, joint action with the Polish Social Assistance Committee on matters of helping retirees, facilitation of the most necessary allocations of coal and foodstuffs, and the organization of excursions, lest the retirees feel alone and shunned.

Janina Kusmierczyk, the union's vice chairperson, explains: "In principle, the pensioner is not entitled to assistance from the cooperative. Once they retire, they cease being members and that is that."

The union began its activities as spring turned into summer; afterwards, it did not participate in the preparations of the year's summer camp and health activities. On the other hand, the union wishes to analyze how things are going together with the social commission operating under its control; the plan is to draw conclusions for next year. The union also planned to participate in the fall action to provide workers with fruits and vegetables. A program has also been worked out for winter assistance during the 1983-84 period. There are also plans to organize activities which will lead to the acknowledgment of rheumatism as a professional illness of window-cleaners and people who perform difficult work under various conditions of weather and are constantly exposed to moisture. The plan further envisions the controlled examination of all the workers.

Although it may be just a dream at this point, the trade unionists believe that they will be able to change something in the system of how state awards are conferred. The union does not want to find itself in a situation where the cooperative is informed that a limit has been set for it and then discovers that it must come up with a person who has distinguished himself "by yesterday." It then turns out that they do not have a candidate for the proposed top award because they have never received any kind of award. Either the efforts have come only after people have "distinguished" themselves, or the efforts only turn out to be slogans. Up until now, there are still only reservations about the state's system.

Management Is Not Opposed

Leokadia Kania, the deputy chairperson of the cooperative for service issues, puts it this way: "A lot of workers wanted a trade union; they supported it by attending the meetings and by joining it. The cooperative's managers agreed wholeheartedly with the idea. The rest of the cooperative's members finally also went along. We will help the union in administrative and technical matters because union functions here are carried out socially, communally, so we have to support those people who are connected with these functions. We also pass on workers' issues to the union for review."

It is a fact that the cooperative council sets the scale for wages, but it is difficult to imagine that it meets to review every individual case. Management decides, then the trade unionists check the results to see if anyone is done wrong.

This is fine, but what about the role of the cooperative self-government? Is a trade union really necessary here if the cooperative worker can always appeal to a supervisory council commission or a general meeting of the cooperative's highest authority?

The ladies with whom I am speaking say yes, but they voice several reservations.

In the first place, the council does not meet continuously, but only for specific periods. Normally, its members work around the area and it can be difficult to meet with them for the purpose of presenting an issue for consultation. On the other hand, the trade union has a fixed headquarters in the offices of the cooperative, i.e., where every worker goes at least once a month.

In the second place, a general meeting, i.e., an assembly of delegates, meets normally only once a year. The procedures associated with an extraordinary convocation require weeks of advanced planning. After all, time is lost; but beyond this, how much would such an effort cost every time the cooperative worker failed to agree with the decision in his case? The trade union is ongoing and can react much more quickly.

In the third place, a new council has been appointed and is only preparing to register. Before it is ready for business, a lot of time will pass, but people are in a hurry to get their allowances.

Finally, in the fourth place, the old union had collected certain funds. What is to happen to these funds now that the old union is gone? On the other hand, cooperatives have always operated on the principle of self-financing and are, therefore, watchful of every cent.

No One Has Ordered Us To Do So

Chairperson Gabriela Skop answers the question as to why the union was established here, whereas elsewhere there are difficulties in doing so: "Our trade union was not born because of a great conflict or argument. It has even been said that we established it because the party organizers ordered us to do so since it is strong in the Chorzow area. But this is not true. There was this great need; the workers knew it and it resulted in the establishment of a trade union. But then, other cooperatives have trade unions, don't they?"

There are further explanations. Perhaps if only the workers of the Provincial Union of Cooperative Labor would set up their own trade union....

It is a fact that the Provincial Union is not the highest authority for the cooperative, but everyone seems to think that it is. Perhaps others believe that if the social fund belongs to a cooperative council, then the union's field of activity would be limited. Or, perhaps, extraordinarily, there are no people there who would want to take on such a big job as union activist? Or perhaps....

In any event, the Chorzow Czystosc Cooperative has its own trade union and believes that it is necessary to it.

* * *

Where Support Comes From

There are still three groups of institutions in which the process of unionization is running into specific obstacles. These are small institutions, institutions where the right to unionize belongs only to the administrative and technical employees who compete with the planning offices, and cooperatives. There are many controversies connected especially with these institutions with regard to unionization. We turned to Wacław Nowicki, the deputy chairman on workers' self-government matters in the Provincial Union of Cooperative Labor in Katowice, with a request to explain what reasons are behind all this. This is his answer:

The cooperative movement is based on completely different principles of employment from state enterprises. Within the cooperative, a cooperative agreement on work and a statute regularizing members' rights have been binding for over 100 years. Both these documents define the working relations which are found in the cooperatives. There is no employer representation here; all workers, especially their majority, are members of the cooperative. Shareholders in the cooperative are also members. The most important economic decisions, including wage-related ones, are made jointly by the cooperative's council, which is elected.

A general assembly of the cooperative is the highest authority. The most important decisions are in its purview; these are made directly. Thus, if the entire institution, which is the cooperative, is to behave in accordance with the wishes of the shareholders, who are also members of the cooperative, there is no need to represent workers against an employer, except, perhaps, against each other. The issue of wage demands is similar: wages can only be what the cooperative's financial situation allows. There is no possibility of extracting wage increases if they have yet to be worked out through production beforehand. There would be a threat of bankruptcy, as well as of a loss of labor through those who would gain excessively high wages. In recent years, such a situation did occur in one of the cosmetic cooperatives.

There is also a need to keep one very important problem in mind. A professional trade union is not responsible for anything economically. On the other hand, the agencies of cooperative self-government are materially responsible for incorrect decisions and all the resulting losses. Perhaps there is apprehension about creating a "partner" in the cooperative to share authority, but none when it comes to risks and responsibility.

In accordance with the provisions of all cooperatives, their boards of directors act through audit commissions and commissions on working affairs, i.e., agencies which examine any kind of argument resulting from work contracts, work safety and hygiene, social matters, and societal-educational activities. This signifies that council commissions control matters which have traditionally been handled by trade unions. A member of the cooperative who believes that management is not operating correctly or that he has been wronged, also may appeal to the council's agencies any time. If he feels that his case was not properly dealt with, he may always turn to the general assembly, i.e., the highest authority in the cooperative.

If we establish the proper procedures for the board of directors, the cooperative and its agencies, then its members will not be very interested in setting up a trade union. Naturally, there will always be areas for the new union to be active in, because there is always something to be corrected. On the other hand, I believe that we should quietly approach the modest interest in setting up unions on the part of cooperative. We should not seek sensation, but should rather attempt to understand the specifics of the trade union itself.

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Questions and Answers: Workers' Self-Government Will Not Replace...

[Question] Can a member of a cooperative be a trade unionist?

[Answer] Yes. Article 10, paragraph 1 of the law on trade unions unequivocally states that the right to set up and form trade unions belongs to people who work regardless of whether or not they are employed workers as is stated in the Labor Code or cooperative labor agreement. Beyond this, cooperative rights forbid the passage of resolutions on excluding any member from the cooperative or removing him from the rolls without first ascertaining the opinion of the trade union (if such a union is active in the cooperative).

[Question] Can workers' self-government in the cooperative perform the functions of a professional trade union?

[Answer] No. Even less so if the law on cooperatives expressly grants it the right to deal with issues which normally are dealt with by a union. Workers' self-government will always be restricted in its opportunities to deal in union matters which are "outside" of the cooperative. Beyond this, such a situation should not preclude the appointment of a trade union within the cooperative. Above all, self-government is concerned with the economic and control functions vis-a-vis management. These functions touch upon the total utilization of all the plant's opportunities in production and services as well as on the guarantee of fair division of the economic profits among the workers. Certain issues, such as the adoption of plans, the setting up or elimination of designated wages for the cooperative's workers, social, cultural-educational and sporting arrangements resulting from various suggestions, resolutions on work regulations and work competition among the employees also overlap into the areas of trade union interests.

[Question] What issues in the cooperative are handled by the trade union?

[Answer] As in all other workplaces, the unions are concerned with defending workers' interests in the areas of:

- employment and the shaping of labor relations;
- rewards for effort and other certificates for the benefit of the worker;
- working conditions for women and young people;
- safety, hygiene and work culture;
- recreation after work, physical exercise, vacations and workers' holidays;
- health protection for workers and their families;
- statements of illness, pensioner certificates from social insurance;
- satisfying workers' housing needs;
- fixing prices, market situation and the costs for maintaining the workers' and his family's standard of living;
- development of education and culture in workers' centers;
- environmental protection.

Beyond this, trade unions conduct educational activity aimed at shaping professional ethics, the conscientious and honest accomplishment of workers' obligations and the observance of social and communal principles. As can be seen, there will be no issues touching upon the worker's working conditions or life which will be outside the area of trade union activity. The law on professional

trade unions gives them the opportunity effectively to influence all issues through the notification of a collective complaint in the event of a conflicting position on the part of the union and state administration and economic agencies. It also protects the union from disregard of its opinions or existence by these agencies. The only restriction is the reservation that whatever goals the union pursues will be within the framework of our state's constitutional principles. No other agency acting within a cooperative possesses such a wide range of authority.

Union Activities for Work Force

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 14 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by (z. fl.): "We Act on Behalf of the Entire Work Force"]

[Text] Jozef Skawinski is the chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Workers at the PZL Transportation Equipment Plant in Gorzyce.

The workforce of our enterprise is made up of 3,180 people, including 686 who have already joined our union. Although we have unionized barely 22 percent of all our employees, we feel that we are needed in the plant. Without any exaggeration, I can affirm that even today we represent the interests of the entire work force. This is confirmed by the many interested people who visit our headquarters, although many have not yet filled out the necessary forms to join. There are weeks when we have up to 10 individual cases to settle. They refer mostly to conflicts connected with working relations; but the most problematic and difficult issues to solve are housing issues. After the most recent allocation of apartments in a new housing complex, there were many complaints that it was unfair. Because of this, the allocations were again analyzed and, in my opinion, apartments had been granted to people most in need.

We focus most of our attention on solving problems touching the entire work force. Recently we turned to the authorities of the Federation of Trade Unions of Workers of the Airplane and Engine, Mechanical, Electronics and Precision Industries, which has its headquarters in Katowice, with regard to negotiating additional vacation time for workers employed in especially harmful and strenuous work through contacts with the authorities of our ministry department.

We also claimed to the directors of the Transportation Equipment Plant that current bonuses paid for work under conditions harmful to health are too low. The enterprise is independent and self-financing and we feel that we should be able to solve this problem among ourselves.

On the basis of experiences in cooperation with the workers' self-government, with which we signed an agreement, and the PZPR Plant Committee, I feel that we will reach an agreement advantageous to the work force.

Unions Making Progress at Famak Plant

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 15 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by Nina Kracherowa: "The Trade Unions Are Moving"]

[Text] Andrzej Sobczyk was supposed to work abroad. He did not go because he was elected the chairman of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union of Workers at the Famak Machine and Appliance Factory in Kluczbork. (Union names have become so long recently, but that is not my fault.)

Differing from other, though not any smaller factories which I visited, I found the Famak trade union chairman working in the union office. He was also working in his own way. I made the point that one rarely sees a union chairman spending all his time on union matters. He replied that everything depends on the director. A paper was brought in: "Explanation No 4 of the Ministry of Labor, Wages and Social Affairs dated 21 March 1983." The explanation refers to the release of workers from their jobs who had been elected to perform duties in the plant union organization and to their recompensation during a non-paid leave. It is a standing rule that: "At the suggestion of the plant union organization, the plant director is obligated on the basis of article 32, paragraph 2 of the law on trade unions to grant non-paid leave to a worker appointed to perform duties in the union organization as the result of an election." This means that in every plant, at the suggestion of the union organization, a chairman may dedicate all his time to union affairs and not perform his duties as union chairman publically, i.e., in his free time. It would very clearly seem that this news has not yet reached all directors.

Andrzej Sobczyk puts it this way: "We had an elections meeting in June where 237 members, mostly workers, participated. The elections were conducted democratically. An administrative board was elected, corrections were made to the law and we began operations. We were given a headquarters and I was put 'on leave' from my position as boss of the preparation section to work as the chairman of our union."

The chairman was to be interviewed but it was obvious after a few minutes that conditions would not permit it. Every few minutes, another person would walk in and present his case.

How did we begin our activity? We began by meeting the plant's managers. The director meets every Monday with representatives of social organizations. We said: "We should begin by inspecting the plant." We then went around the plant with Director Lesiuk. We looked at cloakrooms and washrooms. With regard to these, it is not bad at Famak, but still far from ideal. We then began a serious talk about working conditions. We confirmed that in several halls the tolerable levels of smoke and noise had been reached. We will look more into these issues. Some things can be straightened out to make life easier for people. Something like safety and work hygiene is close to what I mean. People collect money so that others can work under suitable conditions. Our former safety and work hygiene official was forgiven. We talked to the director

responsible for these matters. We changed the standards on protective clothing usage. During a severe crisis, there were no shoes. Our turners had to work in wooden shoes. How could this be?! A turner has varicose veins like rope after 12 years. He needs the proper footwear. The director was inclined to agree with our suggestion. He had the standard changed. We then turned to the issue of overtime. Many people worked more than 120 hours of overtime a year. A specific analysis of employment procedures was conducted. People will work only where they are really needed, i.e., in production.

Alongside serious matters, less serious, even funny ones occur--if one looks from the outside and it is not happening to you. This Famak, processor of all kinds of items, had to worry one year not about steel or export contracts but only about caps for bottles of chilled mineral water. A plant in Bogacica produces beverages. The carbonated water was without carbonation....

"Now we will be smarter and accumulate a supply of mineral water over the winter."

Chairman Sobczyk wants to keep talking strictly about union issues. This is to be stressed because people have learned to read between the lines even where there is nothing written.

An example of this is offered by the following scene: A worker enters with the certificate of a newly-born child. He came for his grant. The chairman says he will record this for the wife because she is a union member; it will cost only a few cents more. The worker responds that his wife is not a union member. How is this possible? Andrzej Sobczyk is surprised: "Didn't she tell you?"

Later: "That's how it is now, all families are always...." But let's get back to the subject. The entire work force received medical examinations. The issue of an ambulance was dealt with because there was a case when one was needed and there was none. One has been provided. Equipment from the clinic can be transported by other means. We turned to management to inspect the situation at the sport and recreation center at the Metalowiec Sports and Athletic Club. Things were moving towards a collapse there. The result was a series of moves which went along administrative channels. The club's leaders decided to call a general meeting in October. There will be elections. Let the club's members decide what to do next. Our attitude was that we did not want to point out mistakes or make enemies for ourselves. Quiet will get us farther than trying to settle accounts. In the end, we are all members of the same work force.

Another worker walks in. From the doorway he shouts that these points are the very end. "Sit down; relax and talk to me," says Andrzej Sobczyk. "What's aching you?"

"That a storage battery truck driver should have 70 points, and I after 12 years should have 72! It is a problem. I wanted a transfer, but I got none. I worked at the purification plant for six and a half years, and I am now told that if I don't like the place, I can get out."

Sobczyk promises that he will discuss the matter with the director and department head. These interpersonal relations are a bit bewildering. The worker is not a union member, but the union will defend him anyway. That is how it is and that is how it should be.

Apartments. The housing community along Slowacki Street has been built up but the land around it has not been drained. During a downpour, a swamp forms there. Workers' initiatives has produced no results. Inasmuch as the land belongs to Famak, the factory has to undertake the drainage.

People can assist in a community action to manage and control the land. After all, they do live there.

The retiree Jozef Stololski from Kluczbork wrote a letter with a request for its publication: "I send sincere thanks to the factory's management and to the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union for their understanding and assistance in my being granted the license and speedy acquisition of a necessary step for my mechanical wheelchair; it helps greatly in my daily life. To all those who assisted me in mounting the item on my wheelchair I send my warmest gratitude."

Do we perform an educational role in society? Of course, I know. Sometimes we have to talk to people. For instance, one woman with a kind heart would throw dinner scraps out through the window for the birds without realizing that these birds wore fur coats and long tails. But these are not today's most important issues. We turned our attention to regulating the work force's social certificates. We wanted to cut back on reimbursement for holidays. Management will make yearly determinations and then pass them on to the work force. We reduced the reimbursement for children aged 3 to 10 by half. Then we also cut the reimbursement by half for the holidays of those working under conditions harmful to health. Currently, we are looking at the chance of cutting payments for holidays before and after the vacation season. What have we done for the exterior of the plant? We turned to the City and Gmina Office in Kluczbork in reference to the surface of Dworzec Street. The deputy director promised that after the new drainage and sewage system had been installed, a new covering of asphalt will also be applied. We wondered about a gangway over the paths leading to the factory. Because of our involvement, new stairs were put into the gangway. What else have we done? We resisted the removal of women on maternal leave from the list of awards and profits. Perhaps one gave birth to a distinguished individual? A future Famak worker has been born unto us. The PZPR Plant Committee Executive Board supported us. The self-government also supported us. A change in the regulation on awards and profits is in the offing. This was the first real issue formally protested by the union.

A letter is delivered. A shop foreman wants to discuss a crane operator. In 1981, she was sick for 52 days, in 1982 for 103 days. So far this year she has been sick for 38 days. "Her frequent absence from the job disorganizes the department. Conversations with her have been fruitless. Considering actions undertaken to become more efficient in employment matters and to utilize work time properly, we have found another citizen to replace our current crane operator."

How does the union reply? The union replies that the leadership of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union has decided not to support the shop foreman because he went the route of least resistance. An employee with 12 years of faultless work must not be regarded as a dispensable item. The union's leadership expects that instead of a proposal to dismiss, there should be a proposal to improve the conditions of work, smoke and noise so that absence due to illness will decrease.

This was stated strongly. And these are normal everyday activities. I did not come here for my career, but only to serve people. I am not disappointed in people. I worked for 13 years in a department I organized. Maybe I am a pistol, but I have wronged no one. We have 355 workers in our union. Every day another worker joins. Time and our activities convince those who are still undecided.

Kazimierz Kurylo said: "To support our chairman is also a favorable activity for us."

We were in the hall where the shop foreman presented Andrzej Sobczyk with a bundle of declarations. They are all workers who have been around a long time. How do they view the future of the unions? There will have to be some struggle....

Unionists Meet With Lublin Province Secretary

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 17-18 Sep 83 pp 1, 2

[Article by KRK: "Concerning National and Labor-Related Issues"]

[Text] At the invitation of the first secretary of the party Provincial Committee, Wieslaw Skrzydlo, almost 100 unionists arrived at the office of the party Provincial Committee on 16 September to discuss the problems prevailing the reemerging trade union movement and to present their own views and opinions of the sociopolitical and economic situation in the country and province. Besides the host and invitees, party Provincial Committee Secretaries Tadeusz Borszynski and Ryszard Przybylski and the vice governor of Lublin, Andrzej Szpringer, also participated in the meeting.

Tadeusz Borszynski presented information on the development of the trade union movement in the province. Already 573 plants have their own founders' groups or union organizations. This constitutes 83 percent of those socialized units of the economy where trade unions can be organized. The unions already boast of 72,000 members organized into 491 plant organizations.

The next speaker was Andrzej Szpringer, who presented the situation in proposals and demands made in June during a meeting of party and administration representatives of the province and trade unionists.

Later on in the meeting, representatives of the union organizations took the floor. They focused a great deal of attention especially on the critical housing situation, the difficulties in improved relations with management from plants and economic departments, and the need and problems of building trust. Attention was also focused on the difficult start and situation of young people, on the moral terror directed by opponents of the new unions in the factories and the cases of indifference, and even on the support of such activities by medium technical supervision. There was also much talk about consultation as a requirement for introducing certain socio-legal practices based on serious regard for the partner.

Andrzej Szpringer, the vice governor of Lublin, addressed several issues which were brought up in discussion and which touched upon his area of interest. Ryszard Przybylski, the Provincial Committee secretary, was next to speak. He spoke at considerable length about the localization of housing construction in Pulawy.

Wieslaw Skrzydlo, the Provincial Committee first secretary, closed the meeting. He made reference to the possible reproach that the meeting, as organized by the party, might be misconstrued as being an attempt by the party to gain control over the new trade unions and then command them. W. Skrzydlo stated that it was necessary to explain that the trade unionists themselves had shown the need to organize such topical meetings with representatives from the party and state administration. The first secretary then presented the development of the trade union movement in the province by stating that he is satisfied because by the end of the current year alone, the number of trade unionists in the plants will reach 30 percent of the work force, while currently 34 percent of the work forces, generally speaking, already belong to plant organizations. W. Skrzydlo discussed the role of the party vis-a-vis the relationship between the unions and plant managements. He stated that the party must be the ally of those tendencies promoting the interests of working people.

A more extensive report of the meeting of the party Provincial Committee first secretary with the trade unionists in Lublin will be made in one of the upcoming issues of SZTANDAR LUDU.

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PROVINCIAL PARTY ACTIVITIES REPORTED

Torun Province Plenum on Social Pathology

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 13 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Article by tes: "Polish United Workers' Party Provincial Committee [KW PZPR] Plenum in Torun; Only Joint Efforts Can Oppose Social Pathology"]

[Text] Yesterday's KW PZPR plenum in Torun applied itself to the serious subject of safety and public order in the province of Torun, as well as party commitments in counteracting negative social phenomena. Participating in the proceedings which were conducted by Leon Krynski, KW secretary, were the following: Michal Atlas, manager of the Administrative Department of the PZPR Central Committee [KC] and Franciszek Rusek, public prosecutor of the Polish People's Republic [PRL].

A review of current order and safety in the province of Torun was covered in the lecture delivered by Ireneusz Laba, KW secretary. To begin with, he stated that consolidation of the principles of order and discipline in every sphere of life are fundamentally significant in strengthening the revival of sociopolitical life in the nation. These principles were shaken during the 1980-1981 period as a result of the spread of anarchy in social life, the sabotage of government and legal authority, and the slandering of agencies of order and safety. This was then followed--also in the province of Torun--by an increase in delinquency, which included robbery and burglary and considerable intensification in speculation. Progressive stabilization of life in the country led to a lull in political agitation and a certain amount of decline in delinquency, and in its aftermath improvement in conditions of safety; however, negative results of the atmosphere generated at that time continue to be felt. The agencies of order and safety, control and administration contribute much to the protection of the citizenry, from various forms of threats on the part of the lawbreakers. However, the effectiveness of the struggle with delinquency, to a considerable degree, is weakened by a sustained lack of general disapproval for criminal manifestations of social pathology, such as alcoholism, parasitism, demoralization of young people, as well as a breach of discipline and principles of professional ethics in work places. Indifference towards these phenomena is accompanied by frequently badly understood loyalty and solidarity in the concealment of minor transgressions, tolerance of drunkenness and loafing.

It is not a platitude--remarked I. Loba--that the effectiveness of the struggle with manifestations of social pathology which are often cast upon the state of general discipline and productivity of labor, can exert significant influence on extricating the country from the crisis, including the economic one. For this reason also, this battlefield should include as great a number of citizens as possible, with special tasks falling to organizations, party echelons and individual party members. The KW and its executive board, as well as the KW Commission on Observance of Law and Order, have repeatedly concerned themselves with these problems; however, they have not always received the appropriate response from basic organizations and their management. For example, there is only a limited number of instances of organizational effort on the part of the basic party organization [POP] to suppress socially harmful phenomena in their plants. For that reason the provincial party echelon expects greater involvement on the part of its sectors in expanding the social front of people who are sensitive to disregard for moral standards, injustice and violation of the law and wish actively to participate in the process of a moral revitalization of society.

During the discussion, observations and reflections were shared on the subject of endeavors undertaken to strengthen safety and order in individual provincial communities, as well as causes hindering the struggle with delinquency and social pathology. One of the most significant is--in the opinion of the conferees--the law dealing with absenteeism, which does not provide management with adequate measures for dealing with individuals practicing a parasitic mode of life (T. Stempski, R. Bester, and others); discussion followed on the necessity for providing internal control in work places, and more positive enforcement of regulations, whose breach entails waste of public property, an example of which is fire losses. It was stated that an increase in delinquency prevention methods would be more justifiable than spending money to suppress its consequences, which ordinarily happen to be more costly in a material as well as a moral sense (T. Dabrowski). The important problem of more effective influence on the family, where quite often evil has its beginning and blossoms into delinquency, was raised (C. Moskal). Comments by K. Maszerowski who spoke on party commitments in resisting social evils, were fundamental. He remarked that party organizations should conduct more systematic evaluations of management cadres in plants, and consistently rate them on the basis of job assignment, i.e., through withdrawal of recommendations granted. He likewise stressed the importance of the training role in employment plants, among others, the process of resocializing former offenders.

Colonel Dr Stanislaw Lukasiak, chief of the Provincial Office of Internal Affairs, took up, among other things, the problem of the lack of real concern or the safety of public property and censured the harmful posture of the management of some plants engaged in bartering scarce commodities among themselves, thereby breaching the standards of community life during a time of crisis.

He placed special emphasis on the necessity for creating a social climate for the condemnation of alcoholism, a source of many offenses, including those against the family. He likewise stated that in order to assure the safety of citizens more effectively, it is imperative to develop and strengthen the

Voluntary Reserve of the Civil Militia [ORMO], and guarantee better working conditions for district functionaries of the Citizens' Militia [MO] which is in direct contact with society. He also referred to the fact that to date relatively few individuals from the political underground in the province of Torun have taken advantage of the generous offer of amnesty, the deadline on which is approaching.

F. Rusek, public prosecutor, stressed in his remarks how important the observation of law and order is at this time, because the efforts of the political enemy aimed at weakening the state depend, among other things, on encouraging violation of mandatory laws and order. M. Atlas likewise rose to speak, pointing out that the principal tasks of the party in its struggle to guarantee public tranquility call for the development of a suitable climate, the securing of people to cooperate with the agencies of order and control, and the regulation of activities of those agencies, as well as work with cadres.

Each conferee emphasized that the principal conditions for further systematic improvement in the state of safety and order in the province lies in the formation of a united citizens' front, directed against all manifestations of evil and injustice in social life. In this spirit, a resolution was prepared and adopted at the conclusion of deliberations, in which the plenum recommends to party and social organizations, as well as responsible agencies and institutions, the implementation of a series of commitments for the benefit of public safety in the broad sense of the word.

On the organizational side, the plenum recalled from their positions: Zenon Marcinkowski, due to transfer to another place of employment; Stefan Borkowicz, who is pursuing studies in the USSR; Ryszard Stachowski, for violating statutory norms.

Important Party Matters

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 13 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Article by (Z G): "In Party Organizations Issues Both Large and Small Are Important"]

[Text] The main theme of party work relies on daily contact with people, constant display of interest in their crucial problems, strengthening the courses of adjustment and stabilization of life. Preparations for the initiation of a new year of training are carried on in echelons and basic organizations, much room is reserved for discussions on ideological training matters, on the development of cooperation with trade unions, self-governing labor organizations and the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON] elements, and also on social issues of the workforce, as well as on implementation of economic commitments by plants.

The City-Gmina Committee [KMG] in Sulechów conducts systematic reviews of the vital services sphere of operations. Many irregularities and complaints continue to annoy the residents here. Among other things, these were presented during a meeting of the first secretary of the KMG and the head of the General

Consumers' Cooperative [PSS] and its board of directors. The following items were subject to particular social criticism: unsatisfactory quality of meat products, limited supply and lack of continuous supply of bakery goods, lack of a series of basic dairy products, failure to open business establishments to serve the needs of the public. Business organizations as well as management were placed under obligation to expedite improvement in the work of the business network.

The executive board of the Goflan factory organization in Gubin discussed, among other things, implementation of economic commitments and a social program. Help supplied the builders of single family homes to date by the factory was positively assessed, as were preparations to commence factory housing construction. The proposal of the trade union to repeal certain labor penalties met with approval. Likewise the party meeting at the cooperative, Pokoj, in Gubin, devoted much attention to improving management. Greater results in this area make possible the designation of larger funds to aid workers building and repairing homes.

For the residents of Jasienie, one of the most important issues requiring a solution is the function of urban community services. This was discussed, among other things, at the KMG plenum. City streets give impressions of neglect, earthworks drag on for months, and the blame for this will be borne by the Communal and Residential Management Enterprise [PGKiM] from Lubsko. Echelon management was obliged to assume responsibility for this problem.

The executive board of the party's Gmina Committee in Trzebiel became involved with management standards on newly emerging private agricultural farms. The analysis proved successful. Likewise, farm help and management were obliged to eliminate errors and mistakes pointed out to them, and provide for good management by young farmers.

Party echelons and organizations must be the champions of complete observance of the principles of social justice. At meetings opinions are often expressed to the effect that the policy of party and state management is clear and conforms with duties, but at the bottom, in plants and institutions, cities and villages, it is not always clear and not fully implemented. Callousness and bureaucracy are ever present in our lives. It is necessary to resist them consistently, and party sectors must be most sensitive to human problems. There can be no tolerance of disorder, mismanagement, nor shirking of duties. Discipline in the performance of tasks must be general. Enforcement of obligations is a fundamental duty of the managing cadres. Wherever it is lacking, good programs remain just wishes. Therefore, party echelons and organizations are responsible for the present control of the work of national and economic administration sectors. Improvement in working conditions and human existence, production and management growth are important political commitments today.

Nowy Sacz Plenum on Party Obligations

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 13 Sep 83, pp 1-2

[Article by Kazimiera Bryndza: "Polish United Workers' Party Provincial Committee Plenum at Nowy Sacz with Participation of Albin Siwak, Member of the Central Committee Politburo; The Need for Sensitivity--A Party Duty; Human Issues Deserve Human Treatment"]

[Text] A tremendous display of public opinion accompanied the KW PZPR Nowy Sacz deliberations, which were devoted to keenly analyzing methods for solving complaints and signals pouring in from the public, as well as to the role of the party in the formation of an awareness of the fact that everyone is equal under the law and is entitled to his own opinion and to expect help. Albin Siwak, a member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the Commission on Complaints, Letters and Signals from the Public, as well as Col Marian Kot, director of the Central Committee Office of Letters and Inspection, also attended the conference. Also participating in the proceedings, which were conducted by Jozef Brozek, first secretary of the KW PZPR, were the following: Stanislaw Smierciak, United Peasant Party Provincial Committee chairman and Fryderyk Jaskiewicz, Democratic Party Provincial Committee secretary.

If the methods for dealing with complaints and grievances is lengthy, formal and in addition inconsistent with principles of social justice, and therefore biased--they do not enhance the authority of gmina, city, or province officials.

One of the fundamental principles of socialism is, of course, the struggle with evil. And wherever evil breeds, the party must intervene. Courageously, without kid gloves. Human issues deserve human treatment, and only then will there be less dissatisfaction. Practically every complaint, every manifestation of dissatisfaction is a warning signal revealing weak spots in social life, and should be regarded as follows: individually, from the point of view of the citizen's interests, and generally--when judging the mechanics of institutional endeavors. We are especially deficient regarding the latter. During the course of 1 and 1/2 years, 4400 complaints, both written and oral, were registered with the Provincial Committee and basic level echelons. Before that, people annoyed the officials with these matters--without results. That is why people confide their cares and grievances to the party. The party is not obliged in all cases to help those sectors appointed to do this work. In the recent past comrades in uniform performed a positive role in abolishing evil.

Control of methods in which complaints are processed requires further improvement; it cannot be sporadic, especially in the party. The sooner citizens perceive the healthiest faction of society in the party, the more will they confide in it.

In connection with this entire phenomenon, the grain of valid criticism should be separated from the chaff of demagoguery. Anonymous letters are not always

written in anticipation of favorable reception--perhaps a lack of courage. Many of them reflect prejudice, pettifoggery and slander. Analyses conducted indicate that the lion's share of complaints concerns housing matters. This is understandable: in the province, 16,000 families are waiting for their own living quarters. But even here verification is necessary. A railwayman, who lives in a damp hovel, stands in the same line with a generous daddy who endowed his adult children with villas, a nurse from the health center and the daughter of the owner of income producing greenhouses.

If a general segregation is to be made of complaints resulting from general shortages and those from a violation of principles of social justice--the latter would not be comparatively large.

After an introductory report by Jozef Brozek, Provincial Committee first secretary, a discussion followed. Participating in it were: Aleksander Kusnierz from Gorlice; Zofia Mroz, Jozef Nieglos from Nowy Targ; Wojciech Wieczorek, Boleslaw Basinski, Tadeusz Swidrak from Nowy Sacz; Wladyslaw Swider from Rabka; Zygmunt Kunicki from Podegrodzie; Jozef Koprowski from Zakopane. The following issues were raised: rehabilitation of invalids; the struggle with pathology and protection of children from endangered families; failure on the part of some echelons to respond to complaints; the incomprehensible position of the Ministry of Transportation in vital matters concerning the community of railwaymen; erroneous decisions of the administration, from a social point of view, in the matter of city development, to say the least. Criticism was leveled at the housing law that permits unfair administration of housing resources.

Albin Siwak took the floor towards the end of the conference. He stated that work in cooperatives dealing with complaints, starting with the Central Committee and ending with the gmina echelon, is difficult, like crushing millstones with your bare hands.

We have many regulations, and even good regulations. What is important is the type of people. Reprehensible is the practice of not seeking the roots of evil, but only people who brought this evil to light. Some also do battle with such weapons. There should be no place in the party for advocates of these methods. It is necessary to present the issue of dealing with complaints honestly: either we do this with determination or we shall always remain sickly. Warsaw will not conduct reforms in the field. Whoever assumes this work must realize that this is a special mission. As for housing--the speaker stated his position: "I do not believe that housing cooperatives can distribute unlimited living quarters, and at that often quite poorly. I endorse the proposal calling for preparation of a specific socially acceptable housing policy. Should the powers of local authorities be expanded in this respect? There are certain dangers, especially private interests. In Poland we have a central construction plan, not at all that small, because the results get better with each passing year. However, the state will not relieve the waiting list for housing by itself. Is everyone entitled to housing? Not really. Once again I express myself in favor of the proposal for a genuine housing policy. The state is adequately burdened with social services. Long maternal leaves, supplementary income for pensioners, other raises.

"In the Politburo of the Central Committee worker representation is stronger than ever. We will not permit harm to come to the working class, and Comrade Jaruzelski certainly knows from original sources what the people say and how they judge party policy. We must think and act jointly. This is important. This is our opportunity."

The plenum adopted a resolution regarding further improvement in dealing with grievances.

* * *

Yesterday afternoon, Albin Siwak, a member of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party Politburo spent some time with Gorlice employment plants employees. In the Plant House of Culture of the Drilling and Mining Machine Factory, Glinik, he met with representatives of the largest enterprises and institutions of the city on the Ropa River.

Members of the PZPR Gorlice and provincial leadership accompanied Albin Siwak.

Tarnow Province Plenum on Social Pathology

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 19 Sep 83 pp 1-2

[Article by Jerzy Rzeszuto: "Polish United Workers' Party Provincial Committee Meeting in Tarnow, with Stanislaw Opalko Participating; How Effectively To Oppose Crime and Manifestations of Social Pathology"]

[Text] On Saturday, a labor meeting was conducted in the Provincial Committee executive body quarters in Tarnow, the purpose of which was to discuss the threatening degree of social pathology, as well as ways to curb criminal phenomena and manifestations. Stanislaw Opalko, member of the Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Tarnow Provincial Committee, as well as representatives of the judiciary, the public prosecutor's office, Provincial Office of Internal Affairs [WUSW], Provincial Peoples' Council [WRN], Voluntary Reserve of Civic Militia [ORMO], Treasury Department, State Institute of Hygiene [PIH], social and youth organizations, as well as representatives of the workforce and farmers from the Tarnow province region, participated in the meeting.

Wladyslaw Plewniak, Tarnow Provincial Committee secretary, opened the meeting: "There is no golden mean for coping completely with every instance of delinquency and manifestation of social pathology"--he stated--"but it is imperative to curb them by taking adequate measures to destroy the roots of evil."

During the course of the meeting, Stanislaw Bieszkiewicz, Tarnow provincial public prosecutor, took the floor and presented conditions during the period of order, safety and public behavior in the province.

"Social laxity", Stanislaw Bieszkiewicz continued, "brought on by the years 1980-1981 carried with it a series of negative phenomena which in turn were aggravated by the economic crisis. These phenomena influenced growth in delinquency, especially speculation, as well as the spreading of negative postures among young people. However, in the province of Tarnow these phenomena are rather limited in occurrence. Tarnow is in 44th place in the country with respect to the threat of delinquency. During a 7-month period this year, 2,855 different types of crimes were recorded in the province of Tarnow, in connection with which it should be noted that the majority of them involved damage to public property. Regarding criminal delinquency, the most trying phenomena are theft and break-ins. Over 500 instances of that type were recorded. Breaking into automobiles is an alarming phenomenon; 80 percent of the perpetrators are employees of the Polish State Railways [PKP]. Robbery and rape were also found in the criminal register. Most frequently it is intoxicated people who are robbed. They are regular prey for the 'blue birds.' Generally speaking, the perpetrators of a majority of crimes are young people, 20-25 years of age."

Considerable concern was expressed over the problem of curbing alcoholism. A disturbing fact is that even after the introduction of a sobriety law and adoption of measures to curb alcoholism, an increase in the consumption of alcohol followed. That is why such great significance is attached to the recently appointed Provincial Committee on Matters Related to Curbing Alcoholism; similar committees are beginning to function on the gmina level. A separate problem in this matter is the actual regard of the management of work places for the letter of the law. Unfortunately, in many instances this is not done. A problem integrally related to this subject is the illegal distillation of liquor. "Moonshine" is being distilled not only in villages but also in cities. Last year, Tarnow's Citizens' Militia [MO] exposed 134 illegal distillers; this year--25 so far. Also, 21 locations where alcohol was being illegally sold were eliminated. The lack of success in this field is compensated for by successful forays on parasitism by employment services. Up to 31 July 1983, the Provincial Office's Department of Employment registered 655 cases of chronic absenteeism. Already 498 persons included in this figure have been scheduled for work.

PIH units and agencies have many difficulties confronting them in curbing the specter of speculation. In this field a 26 percent decline was detected in the extent of speculation, as compared with last year's figures.

In the area of coping with waste and mismanagement, losses were sustained--for the first half of this year, 13 million zlotys. The disturbing increase in instances of pilferage of public property is alarming. An example of this is the massive theft of carbonated lime from nitric plant warehouses. Plant guards are in no position to patrol deposits located far from the plants without delay.

"It will be party elements, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth [PRON], youth organizations and local social committees which will play a tremendous role in assuming responsibility for these problems. Joint efforts in repelling delinquency and the specter of social pathology, as well as in overcoming evil, should produce concrete results," Stanislaw Bieszkiewicz remarked in his address.

PROVINCIAL TRADE UNION ACTIVITIES NOTED

Petrobaltic Trade Union Developments

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 24 Aug 83 p 3

[Article by Andrzej Metlewicz: "In the Realm of Trade Union Matters--The Interests of the Worker Do Count"]

[Text] When, last Thursday, at the Petrobaltic headquarters, I was looking over the statutes of the trade union the name, at first, seemed overly long. But finally I decided that because of this it is more precise. On the first page of the nearly 16-page text is the heading: "The Statutes of the Polish Geological Sea Survey and the Sea Oil Extraction Workers' Union in a Common Organization To Find Oil in the Baltic Sea, Petrobaltic in Gdansk." All those who speak of it simply call it "Petrobaltic's Trade Union."

The name is definitely atypical, as is the enterprise in which the union functions. The statutes are carefully worded. They describe the aims and tasks of the trade union, putting a special accent, first of all, on its commitment to defend the professional work interests, social and cultural interests, of the workers and their families. This refers to the question of pay rates, social and living conditions, and safety and hygiene in the work place. I also noticed three other characteristic items which stated that the trade union will work to spread democratic principles, the rule of law and social justice in human relations, and will shape professional work ethics and honest adherence to work-related duties. Finally the improvement of the methods of caring for members' families has been chosen as an important goal in trade union activity.

My further reading of the document was interrupted by two conversations held by union leader Wlodzimierz Krocza with two sailors who had just arrived on union business. One of them, Zdzislaw Woszczyna, had just disembarked ship several minutes earlier and came to ask for intervention in speeding the assignment of an apartment, since the one he and his family were living in presently was only habitable in the summer. Wlodzimierz Krocza energetically set the deadline and methods for settling this matter for the young man. It is difficult to foresee the result of the intervention, but the union leader assured us that he would use all available means to help.

"It is true that the specific situation of our enterprise helps to make such union activities easier," concluded the union leader, who also fulfills the role of a senior geological division specialist. "Because of the fact," he adds, "that Petrobaltic is an organization common to three socialist nations, we probably employ the best workers and specialists. The daily work demands cooperation and understanding, this causes people to participate and work in the union movement with greater openness and trust."

"The plain proof of this is the number of members in our organization," continues W. Krocza. "Presently there are 210 of us in the union, which constitutes 50 percent of the Polish Petrobaltic crew. We are approaching the level which existed in the 'old' unions of several years ago."

"I, myself, was always a member, but never an active one," he adds a minute later, "only now my male and female co-workers have come to trust in me and have given me the leadership of the organization."

"Are we satisfied with ourselves?" he repeats my question. "We wish to function in a forthright manner, without putting on a show or making promises that we cannot deliver on. We are continuing to induct members. Those who wish to join come and sign up. We do not conduct any special membership drives. About 50 percent of the party members are in the union, but we expect that soon the greater majority of comrades will join."

I return to my interrupted reading of the statutes. The trade union has committed itself to assuring that workers' rights are observed, that safe and hygienic conditions are provided and that plans for any improvements are worked out, that work assignments are made according to work regulations, pay and premium allotment regulations. Material aid will be given to workers and their families, with special care being taken when dealing with families that have many children, the retired, and those on a pension. The union intends to pursue motions to bring the full weight of responsibility to bear on those guilty of violating work rules, and unilaterally battle with bad management, abuses, bureaucratic excesses, and administrative overgrowth.

"Perhaps you can tell us about the trade union's history," I propose to the union leader.

"Officially we started activity on 18 October 1982. At that time there was a gathering of 25 Petrobaltic workers who formed the initiating group. A founding committee, formed later, registered the newly created union on 12 December 1982. At a general members' meeting the administration was chosen and it is functioning today. Finally, on 22 April 1983 we passed a preliminary budget."

I reach for the systematically issued bulletins which are used to inform about current organizational activities.

In Bulletin No. 2 (from 25 February 1983) I read: "On 17 February representatives of the trade union took possession of the property and documents of past union organizations of Polish workers at the enterprise. The total sum of funds received amounts to 489,942 zlotys."

Bulletin No. 4, from 29 April 1983, provides information on programs for union activity, statutory aid to workers (for example, 3,000 zlotys awarded for the birth of a child, a retirement award of 5,000 zlotys), the matter of assigning seniority in the union, and the principles used in judging requests for loans from the ZFM [Plant Housing Fund].

From Bulletin No. 5 (from 25 May 1983) I learn that the claims brought to the union have been evaluated and have been passed to the enterprise administration. This was in reference to methods of approving work regulations, pay rates, and matters concerning the reserve cadres for the drilling platform at Petrobaltic. Six requests for loans from the ZFM were approved and passed on for award. Lately, statutory workers' aid was awarded, a total of 33,000 zlotys to 11 workers, and a total of 27,000 zlotys to 6 workers.

"Returning to current activities," I continue my conversation with W. Krocza. "An important matter is the question of vacations, especially in view of the wide range of specialists who work on the sea platform in this type of geological enterprise. There is the problem of assuring ourselves a full reserve of workers during vacations, sick leave, or unfortunate industrial accidents. We are analysing the causes of such accidents in the enterprises and then take organizational or technical steps to eliminate their causes. After all, we have to deal with many different people, an expenditure for skills and qualifications, for example those connected with drilling and working on the tug. The crews switch between the platform and the tug, or the research ship.

"In the end we are working for ourselves and for our families. Now we are waiting for the proper moment to create an organization outside the enterprise. Our co-workers are working in the south of Poland in similar enterprises which locate and extract oil, for example in Jaslo and Krosno, and in the north at Pila. Such an organizational structure will allow us to take care of matters common to the entire industry. After all, here, when matters common to the entire crew at Petrobaltic appear, we discuss them with our co-workers, the leaders of trade unions which represent the GDR and USSR workers."

Unionists Meeting at Katowice

Olsztyn GAZETA OLSZTYNSKA in Polish 31 Aug 83 pp 3, 4

[Speeches at trade unionists' meeting in Katowice]

[Text] Ryszard Pietrzyk--leader of the Founding Committee of the Trade Union Federation for Telecommunication Workers, Lublin:

In the telecommunication trade unions the young constitute the majority of the activists. In my home union in Lublin the average age is not much above 30. In our union the myth about the passiveness of youth is untrue. But, unfortunately, our energy and enthusiasm is accompanied by the lack of experience. We are sentenced to the role of assisting, and this assistance takes on various forms. The administration, especially the Communications Ministry, sees the unions only when it is necessary to have a legislative act signed "this has been agreed to by the trade unions." And it seems that often the preliminary copy of the legislation reaches us 2 days before the deadline for filing amendments. All this is carefully observed by those who have refrained from joining the unions. Will they join us if they see how we are treated by our own agencies? In June we adopted a resolution to create a separate telecommunications federation. Our arguments are solid, uncertainties have been resolved, we have presented our position to the agency administration and to the Central Committee of the PZPR. So what if this is what the trade union members desire? The Communications Ministry officially states that it wants to have a federation while unofficially it is doing everything to quell the desire for such activity. The desire for action can be broken easily. It is a paradox that one of the higher officials of the Communications Ministry stated that the ministry is operating in conditions of reform and that it will not cover the administrative costs of the new federation now forming; the same official states in TRYBUNA LUDU that in general the agency has no duty to help the unions.

With whom can we speak at the Communications Ministry? With the minister? No, he says that he has no time, too bad. At the founding meeting of the federation a high official from the agency was present and committed himself to delegating a person to work on the temporary founding committee immediately. Two months passed. There is no talk about any immediate delegating of anyone and no one answers our letters and reminders. What does the ministry hope to achieve by such actions? Not one of us has the desire to knock on their door only to hear the same answer--no.

The situation in the trade unions of the communication sector is bad. The membership numbers look good, but that is not the point. Telecommunications consists of a very expensively educated technical cadre. It stands at the highest level as achieved by international electronic sciences. But the pay of an experienced engineer is less than the average national salary. The basic tools of the cable installer are pick and shovel. He rides to the place of breakdown in a ramshackle automobile. Social meeting rooms are taken over and used to house switching gear. No one consults us, but we understand that these decisions are dictated by social needs. In many of our administrative centers for every 1,000 employees there are 100 requests for release from work or transfer to another branch. Our trade unionists in the new federation cannot understand one thing; why did the Communications Ministry take such a negative stance toward the trade union movement, ignoring the party line and all regulations on the subject? So far, there is no answer to this question.

The Tenth World Trade Union Congress took up a resolution to make 1 September Peace Day. Trade unions in socialist and some Western countries took up this initiative. There were peace marches, rallies, and other forms of support. Not too long ago we received a letter from the secretary of the World Trade Union Federation which renewed the appeal to mark 1 September with initiatives that call for world peace. Can our movement, which is in a state of rebuilding, ignore a date like 1 September? I do not think so. Therefore I will allow myself to read a short appeal from the newly formed federation of telecommunication workers. The speaker proposed an appeal which was accepted by the participants of the national gathering of representatives from reconstructed trade unions (the text of this appeal was published on 30 August).

Wlodzimierz Dudkiewicz--leader of the Organizing Committee of the Trade Union Federation of Panel, Laminate, and Match Industry Workers:

Pay rates must be stabilized, the deciding factor being the quality and quantity of work--good work. The proportions between basic pay and the remaining extras have been disrupted by additional compensation, premiums etc. To sum up, the worker is paid on the basis of social regulations, not for his work.

The implementation of economic reform mechanisms have brought an improvement to the situation mostly by raising prices, at the expense of the workers. One can draw some obvious conclusions. First, these facts have no place because they lead us nowhere. Second, administrative costs should be set by the government, agreed-upon prices should not even be discussed for there is a lack of motivation for such prices in a socialist nation. Third, an effective mechanism must be introduced to encourage the duty to reduce the costs of production, so that they would make an impact on the workers' pocketbook as well as on everyone's. Then we can say that this is right, because the increases will not pass the test.

On another matter, we have information about a consultation for starting a project, by resolution of the Council of Ministers on the matter of setting the principles for pay rates for workers in socialized industries. We have discussed the items published in the daily RZECZPOSPOLITA; meanwhile, we discover that there already exists a government project which was already consulted on by that respective department. It is useless, this haste, and this advancement of the consultation. It is bad for all of us, but especially us, the trade unionists. Our co-workers ask, and we must answer. But what can we say when we have proof that the lawmakers have broken Resolution no.25 of the Council of Ministers, 4 March 1983, which concerns the principles, areas, and conduct of consultations with the trade unions.

From this we draw the conclusion that the project by the Council of Ministers should be announced and discussed. Changes in the pay system are needed and necessary. But the upper limit for hourly pay, set at 60 zlotys, is not a pay structure that would enhance yield and quality or, from another point of view, allow a good worker to make a good wage. It is correct to say that resources for regulating pay should come from careful

management and growth in production. These elements can be achieved in enterprises, but there are those that will vegetate over the next few years. We are talking about the industries that produce panels, they have a shortage of lacquers used to finish the panels. This is a cause of limited production in other industries, namely the furniture industry. We hope that the central administrators will help us to solve these problems against which we alone are helpless.

Stanislaw Bar--leader of the Founding Committee of the Union Federation of Construction Trade Workers:

We are creating anew the foundations of the trade union movement in our nation. I am convinced that it will become a permanent element in the work of building socialism. Surely many of us have thought about the role of and the place that trade unions should occupy. Even though this was defined over 60 years ago, putting these principles into practice in daily activities still meets with difficulties.

Today, we stress the defense function played by the trade union, but we cannot forget a second task which the trade unions must accomplish, that of taking part in steering and helping others to administer the socialist economy. This is our right and duty. We are a mass organization, at this moment the most numerous of the working class. This class governs through its party, the Polish United Workers' Party. This party should aid our trade union movement, inspiring it to further achievements. Our trade unions should be schools for adults, schools without teachers and pupils, without handbooks, a school for government, for teaching wise and just management.

Surely a very wise man, somewhere, said that socialism cannot be built only by the hands of communists; to do this all of society must be involved.

Because the amount of problems has grown and we are working under a different set of economic conditions, we are acting in the defense of workers' interests. I am permitting myself to mention this field of activity so that it would not escape our attention. The construction workers' trade unions will remember the second function and will want to participate in decision-making and steering the socialist economy. Along with our other activities we will attempt, as an organization, to increase the importance of the construction trade, to defend its dignity so that our crews will have the satisfaction of public recognition for their profession and their work. It is not only the builders who are guilty for the fact that there are too few apartments, it is a series of interlocked problems due to the crisis which now grips the nation. All construction for cooperative housing is funded 90 percent from the budget. If the budget cannot cover the expenses then it is understandable that there is no money for new apartments. There are complaints about the quality of construction and the builders' work. We are under the whip of public opinion because the commodity that is an apartment is at this moment most desired by society. But no one does any analysis of the shortages in the

construction and other industries. I suspect that the shoes which fill the shelves and no one wishes to wear amount to more than the construction industry's share of junk. We cannot forget one thing: everything that has been built between the Bug and Oder Rivers has been raised by the hands of the builders.

There are many matters in construction. I will give a few more examples. Hotels: three hotel buildings mean over 3,000 people, a small city. Only a small city has its own infrastructure--a coffee house, post office, sporting field. But what do persons residing in hotels have? Are they merely an audience for television sets? This is a whole set of problems.

We must also tell ourselves, in the new trade union movement, for whom we are building socialism. We know by whose hands, by the hands of the workers. But for whom? Why does the free Saturday begin at 12 noon on Friday? Of course not for the working class, because the better part of it has no free Saturdays. I cannot imagine, until we produce baked goods of such quality that they will last 2 days, that baked goods would not be available on Saturday and Sunday. We must consider who is more important, those who produce or those who decide the distribution? Or should they reach agreement and cooperate in management?

To finish, I'd like to share with you several of the difficulties that we come up against in our activities. First of all, no one loves us, not at various levels in the administration, nor in the self-governing organs, and the basic party organizations do not love us. It seems that we are last in the social perception. The regulations for our unions came out last when rights and powers were distributed between the self-governing organs and enterprise administrations. We are the last to create an organizational framework, we only have the law's protection during this term, while the self-governing organs will have it later. In addition we are accused of not representing the entire work force. But I am convinced, as are all builders, that the arguments are on our side. Behind us is the 100-year-old tradition of struggle, work, and aspirations of the class trade union movement.

Teresa Bogacz--member of the National Founding Group of the Polish Teachers' Union [ZNP], a teacher at Elementary School No. 3 in Zywiec:

Our delegation at this gathering represents 1570 union organizations which total about 300,000 members. On 10 August an organization with a unified structure was registered. Presently, an electoral and program campaign has started at the provincial level. It will culminate in a national gathering of ZNP delegates on 14-15 October of this year.

I would like to mention in my speech that at the provincial party conference Bielsko-Biala I had the honor of thanking the first secretary of the Central Committee of the PZPR, the PRL Sejm, and all the people of good will who contributed to the creation and approval of the Teachers' Charter, which fulfills most of the demands of the teaching community. I would like also to remind all that this is the first such document approved during martial

law. This bill, long awaited by the teachers, was born in the fire of fierce discussion, and even battle, and was finally approved on 26 January 1982. This fact may signify that the time has come for correcting the overdue neglect in Polish education. The approval of this document pacified the teaching community, satisfied the ZNP, and for the teachers, party members, it meant the honest realization of resolutions from the Ninth Party Congress.

I would like to add, in the name of the national ZNP founding group and the 300,000 members of the union, that we are worried about the future of this bill. Changes in the wording of several articles have been made without consulting with the teachers' union, which acts lawfully, and this has angered the nearly one-half million persons in the pedagogical community. One may ask who wishes to cause disorder and carelessly treats the permanency of laws that have been enacted in our nation and are in force? This is difficult to understand. Everyone knows that education, after the material sector, is most in need of stabilization and peace. This can be achieved through the enforcement of laws, regulations, and rules. The union members will not tolerate constant watchfulness and battle for every entry in the executive act, and repeated attacks against some paragraphs in the Sejm bill. In our opinion such changes have no substantial justification, one will not have to wait long for negative consequences, they will appear, and will make the process of renewal and reform more difficult. Renewal and reform have the goal of repairing the past neglect of Polish schools and the teaching profession.

Therefore I turn with full trust to the first secretary with my plea to act and delay the latest project to update the Teachers' Charter, to return it for consultation with the ZNP so that community surveys can be taken. This attempt is a clear violation of the 21st article of the law on trade unions.

Before us is the election and program campaign at the provincial level, and the national congress. Therefore this is the time and the place honestly to discuss the propositions presented as changes to the bill and to take a stand on this matter in an honest and honorable way. In the difficult national economic situation, when we are still experiencing the effects of the crisis, the August government decisions deserve special attention, these were accepted with satisfaction, but not without some reservations, these have to do with the deadline for implementing the other items in the Teachers' Charter. In it, for the first time, teachers have reached pay levels equal to those of the engineering-technical cadres working in socialized industries. But, the contents of the wallet are not what I'm referring to, for pay inequality still exists: what is important is the fact that teachers are being compared to professional groups that have the same amount of education and social importance.

For the first time teachers have received the right to receive awards from the work establishment's award fund, service awards, and work anniversary awards. Other professional groups have had such privileges for a long time. This is an important correction to the material situation and the raising of the teachers' social position.

In conclusion, the privileges are not the important thing, but the equalization of rights between teachers and other professional groups is. Therefore, we have repeatedly stressed our position and pushed for an honest and full implementation of the Teachers' Charter, approved on 26 January 1982. We are convinced that we have full rights to it, since we created it jointly with the Ministry of Education and Upbringing, the Sejm Commission for Education and Upbringing, with the full support of the PZPR. This was noted in a resolution of the Ninth Party Congress.

Kazimierz Kozlowski--leader of the Trade Union of Andropol Workers in Andrychow

I will touch on two basic and real problems. The first has to do with the public social facilities maintained by the enterprise. The Andrychow Cotton Industry Enterprise, which I represent, has a number of these facilities, for example, a sports arena, gymnasium, a swimming pool, and the enterprise cultural building. Currently the cultural building is partly funded by the cultural fund, a solution which we find acceptable. Then there are the sports facilities. The costs of maintenance are going up and use up a full one-third of the contribution from the enterprise social fund. Because all enterprises get money for the social fund by minimum deductions from the workers' pay, the enterprise which maintains the facilities must limit the sums spent for other social services, such as vacations, summer camps, and non-returnable social aid. The premier's order of 24 April 1981 addressed this problem and permitted the territorial administration to share in the financing of public facilities. An additional clarification on this matter from the Ministry of Labor Wages, and Social Affairs stated that the enterprise could convey the facilities to other institutions. It was to be understood that the facilities would remain the property of the enterprise, while the "conveyance" was to be limited to financial matters. However, in practice it turned out that the institutions funding the facilities have demanded total and real possession. The dilemma starts here. Should we go against the desires of the work force? To give the facilities, fearing that they will not be maintained properly when they lose their present caretaker? Or should we keep and maintain them while depriving the work force of the funds they earned for the social fund? I am addressing this problem because I represent light industry, where pay is low and the additional social aid is important. I'd like to add that 75 percent of Andropol's crew are peasant-workers. Their use of the facilities is minimal, if not non-existent. There is the need for a different solution, already advised, that is to obtain a reduction in income taxes on the grounds that the enterprise functions as a budgetary unit. This solution was used in the case of funding the vocational school. The funds thus liberated would then be placed in the enterprise social fund. In this way the facilities would keep their caretaker while the workers would be spared the additional burden.

And now for the second problem, perhaps more pertinent. Consultations have started on the matter of establishing principles for awarding pay in the socialized industrial enterprises. A bill of the Council of Ministers has been announced that would, among other things, raise the

upper limit pay limit to 60 zlotys per hour for blue collar workers. The changes also permit the absorption of work recompensation, piece work extras, and monthly premiums. The enterprises were promised that permission would be given for experimental simplification and minimization of their participation in paying out the various additions and equalizations in pay which would be awarded by the pay law.

These changes could be executed through a collective mini-agreement between the enterprise management, the workers' council, and the union organization. We would like to be part of it, because we are counting on the introduction of a readable, understandable system of pay. We do have some reservations as to the limits of pay that have been announced. We would like to have the new pay schedule serve for a longer time and avoid the fault of the present system, i.e., the flattening of earnings. After the absorption of the additional compensation, additions for unhealthful conditions, and additions for seniority and for shift, etc., everyone's pay will exceed the upper hourly pay limit. Already 20 percent of the personnel in auxiliary services, that is, the mechanical and power divisions, etc., have reached the maximum pay rate. They will not fit into the proposed pay structure. The important thing is that the pay schedule will not allow for a chance of advancing in the future. According to an initial survey, in the workplace we are considering proposing some changes. The top pay limit for blue collar workers is creating controversy.

Unionists on Joint-Decisionmaking Law

Warsaw EXPRESS WIECZORNY in Polish 1 Sep 83 pp 1, 7

[Article by (dak): "Nothing About Us Without Us "]

[Text] The meeting of trade union activists from the entire nation with representatives of the party and government which took place in the sports pavilion of the Baildon steel mill in Katowice became in fact an honest 12-hour discussion of the problems and pains of daily life.

There were no generalities. The unionists presented comments and demands. The government representatives did not reply to some, they committed themselves to investigate the others as soon as possible.

Weighty and interesting observations were made by Zdzislaw Tuszynski, leader of the Metal Industry Trade Union for Workers at the H. Cegielski Works in Poznan (it has 3,000 members, about 15 percent of the work force).

"There are matters that make us uneasy," states Z. Tuszynski. "I think that the possibility of suspending free Saturdays by the plant management without prior agreement with the trade union is unacceptable. We know that for the management this is the easiest way to increase production. It is the easiest way, but not the only one! Repeatedly we have pointed out organizational shortcomings--their elimination is the only proper way to achieve the goal which is sought by the guidelines you mention.

"We do not ask for much. We want to return to the old union rules which did not allow overtime work without union consent. We would like this right with regard to the free Saturdays.

"A large part of the difficulties we encounter in our actions is tied to the limitations contained in the trade union law, and the position of the plant management which does not allow the union to make decisions on matters which factually affect the daily lives of the workers.

"Where the trade unions are appropriately numerous, it is necessary, in my opinion, to give us the ability to not merely voice opinions, but to share the decision-making process. For example, in matters concerning the assignment of apartments, directing people to summer camps, vacations, sanatoriums, making expenditures from the social fund, etc.

"The trade unions had these rights once, all we want to do is return to them.

"At this time we must pay particular attention to the question of self-government in the work place. Most of the work places will hold elections of the governing bodies. During these elections we must pay attention to the composition of these self-governing groups. This will be the key to success.

"If the self-governing organs consists of workers only the management will out-manuever them. If it is made up mostly of economists, it will be just like the plant management.

"It must be a conglomerate of workers' common sense and knowledge possessed by the intelligentsia who are not involved in the management of the enterprise.

"One of the most important difficult matters is the growing cost of living. While pay is increasing minimally, its real value is going down. We know the cause of this phenomenon and will act against it in any way available to us.

"To achieve this purpose I think it is necessary to create a pay schedule that will increase the motivational functions which influence work discipline, the quality and quantity of production. In order to create such a mechanism we will no doubt have to become actively involved!

"In the latest period, when the greater part of the work force was on vacation, a problem very real to the employees revealed itself.

"It turned out that the regulations which govern the method for computing vacation pay, or sick pay, are so complicated that the plant's specialist in these matters could not present a simple method of doing the calculations to the union.

"But, after all, every worker should be able to compute the pay due him, regardless of the place of work and education! This should not be a bookkeeper's secret.

"All the matters I have mentioned interfere with the work of the union. The solution of these and other problems needs no financial expenditure, just some good will, several changes in some regulations, and some organizational undertakings.

"I have not mentioned several economic matters because I know that under today's circumstances not everything can be accomplished. This will not mean that the union will not press for their realization.

"Today, before everything else, we must remember what professor Szczepanski had to say: 'It will be possible to fulfill all the slogans and ideas of the working class only when it becomes equal to role of producer.'"

To Join or Not To Join a Union

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 3-4 Sep 83 p 4

[Article by Teresa Kwasniewska: "Trade Unions Patiently Not Advised"]

[Text] To join? Or not to join? Maybe wait a while?

Thousands of workers have been asking themselves these questions since October of last year. With each decision some arguments, some feelings are expressed. The union problem, so important in our lives, still arouses controversy, emotion, but people's trust is returning.

This state of waiting, reflection or one's place in the reborn union movement can be hastily equated with boycott. To get some idea of the opinions on the subject of creating unions, the following survey was conducted by the Public Opinion Research Center.

In the survey 369 persons took part. Out of that number 100 were workers, non-union, at the Cegielski Works, Pafawag [Rail Transport Equipment Enterprise], the Wloclawek Nitrate Works, the Oswiecim Chemical Works. There were 269 representatives from the following industries: commerce, electronics, construction, light industry, urban transportation, who were active union members. The chief differences in the two groups were in union membership, affiliation, PZPR membership, and education. In the non-union group most, 78 percent, had been Solidarnosc members (15 percent belonged to branch unions, 9 percent to the party). Among the active union members 50 percent belonged to the branch unions, about 42 percent had belonged to Solidarnosc, and about half were PZPR members. Over 80 percent of the non-union people had an elementary and basic trade education, while over 50 percent of the union aktiv had secondary and higher educations.

One of the chief elements used to describe the stance of the workers toward the new unions was their position toward the decision which annulled all then-registered unions, Solidarnosc among them. About 69 percent of the *aktiv* accepted the solution which dissolved and later recreated the union movement from its foundations. One-fourth (25.3 percent) of the *aktiv* spoke out for recreation of the unions which existed before December 1981, with the reservation that fundamental changes would have to be made to Solidarnosc.

It is an arguable fact that potential union candidates do not make decisions after reading the statute and the union law. It is true that the non-union people (57 percent), the greater majority, do not know the law at all, and what is worse, are not interested. Because of this there is a certain generality in their assessment of the document.

To be sure, the process is difficult. The methods of hurrying the process along can only be rational arguments and having all the answers. All attempts to speed things have the opposite reaction, they cause harm. With such motivation in mind the government extended the deadline for the Sejm draft union bill. This reminder is not accidental. It is due to the survey participants' description of the barriers to union growth, in which they pointed out some improprieties in the process (40 percent of the union activists, and 51 percent of the non-members). For example; there was management and party organization interference, attempts to take over the union's role on many matters. The perception of union independence is similar, 28 percent of the *aktiv* feels that it is being violated. The union and the self-government groups are encroaching on each other's authority and criss-crossing powers. This was the dominant factor in both groups.

The intentions of the lawmakers, even though the very best, have to be implemented by people, real people. The work force is aware of this, as was shown by the survey. Therefore, there is a specific meaning attached to the fact of who will be the leaders of the new trade unions. Those surveyed call attention to instances where union leadership functions were taken over by persons who were unpopular and did not engender trust.

The fact that the unions cannot be like those from before August 1980 or December 1981 is a political reality. Today the basic matter lies in answering the question: Will the reborn union movement fulfill the expectations of the working people? Can it manage such a burden? And in what direction will these expectations take it?

The authors of the survey tried to establish this as well. Therefore it is important to note an interesting phenomenon. The "difficulty factor" from traditional areas of union activity (social-existence problems, organizing of recreation, work conditions, rates of pay, etc.) were carried over by those surveyed into the problem of the ongoing democratization of the sociopolitical life and the assessment of the plans for socioeconomic development. A high percentage (70-80 percent) in both groups (the union and the non-union) pointed to problems outside the

traditional area of union activity. The area of trade union interests allows us to postulate a hypothesis that the expectations are for a realigned trade union movement, which should represent the workers' interests, defend their rights, bravely come out in the defense of the principles of social justice. Here the respondents indicate some fear about the possibilities of the trade union movement being used in an instrumental manner.

The right to consultations, in public opinion, is seen as a type of test for the credibility of the new unions, a measure of how much of a partner the unions will be to the government, and to what degree the latter will listen to their voice. Therefore, there is a strong emphasis on honesty in these consultations, and respect for opinions about all problems that the working people may have.

What kind of union structure can assure the fulfillment of these expectations?

The union aktiv is predominantly for a branch structure, while among the non-unionists opinion is divided; 37 percent are for branch unions, 38 percent are for regional unions. As for forming, in the future, a national representation, there are as many for as against this concept (about 30 percent each). (There is fear of a return to the activities of the old CRZZ [Central Council of Trade Unions].)

What other conclusions were there?

In spite of all the fears and uncertainties that were expressed, we are getting a steady flow of information from various industrial enterprises about group initiatives and founding committees for trade unions. The evolution of the sociopolitical situation, indications of the progressive normalization, the latest Sejm decisions concerning the end of martial law, will favorably influence the rebuilding of the trade unions. But, on the other hand, it does not mean that all will happen easily or without resistance. Time and patience will be required to restore mutual trust between people, to rebuild the torn relationships in the work place. A disservice is done by those who wish to hurry this social process.

Small, Great Union Problems

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 6 Sep 83 p 3

[Article by W.L.]

[Text] The Wool Enterprise in Zagan is one of the medium size establishments in this industrial branch. The work force consists of 1240 persons, and 30 percent of those employed already belong to the union, whose membership, including pensioners and retirees, totals over 500.

Union leader Stanislaw Palat and board member Mirosław Turek do not complain about the lack of work. Almost every day brings problems of various types. Some are simple, one person is involved. Others have significance to a group of workers, and it happens that matters come up which are lively followed by the entire work crew.

Here is an individual example. Mr. M., after surgery, was detailed to light duty for 3 months. After that time he still did not feel well. He was again detailed to light work. However, at this time the management lowered his rate of pay (to the going rate for the work he was doing). He lost pay because of this. He turned to his union for help. As a result of the intervention a solution was found. Thanks to a 10 percent pay raise for that assignment, for the duration of his convalescence his pay became equal to that which he received before. After returning to full health M. will return to his previous assignment.

Often intervention must be taken outside the plant gate. For example: Ms. H. came to work by bus. Recently, at the PKS [State Motor Transport] office she learned that she would no longer be able to obtain a monthly ticket for the route which was most convenient to her. Thanks to an appeal through the union, Ms. H.'s request was satisfied.

The union tries to protect workers' rights to the maximum, but of course there are limitations. For example, when the management asked for opinions and reasons as to why two employees who were caught consuming alcohol at work should not be discharged, the union could not and would not raise objections on social grounds.

A different course of action was taken in the case of several foremen who were charged for work tools (worth 20,000 zlotys) which were "lost" on 17 December 1981. Though not members of the union, those charged appealed to the union for help and were given it. After a careful study of the circumstances it was determined that the security men were late in reporting the tools as missing, and because of this it was impossible to determine who exactly was responsible for this rather regrettable incident. In this case there was but one solution, to remove the "lost" tools from evidence, as those guilty were not apprehended.

Here is another example. One day a group of representatives from the repair shop arrived to ask why the repair shop crew had not been issued special footwear. After examining the situation in the light of regulations it turned out that they were right. It was possible to obtain the shoes and the intervention concluded on the a positive note.

The ministry has a simple agreement with the enterprise. In return for supplying an additional 100,000 meters of fabric, the enterprise will receive additional funds for wages.

The agency guaranteed to supply the necessary raw materials (artificial fibers). But how to distribute the extra pay? The worker's council and a 10-man union delegation discussed this matter. The result of the

discussion was a decision on how to divide the pay among the various departments and on the principles for distributing the money to the workers. It was decided that the funds will become part of the piece-work pay, but work groups whose assignments do not allow them direct participation in piece work (foremen, mechanics) were not forgotten. Departmental commissions were established to monitor the proper conduct of this operation. Because of this, optimum conditions were created for production growth, and the funds allocated for this purpose will be fairly distributed.

This is how the union, which had lately started activity, is taking on its assignment in the workplace, using an ever increasing range of methods.

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CSO: 2600/1313

CEAUSESCU INTERVIEW WITH AL-AHRAM

AU201300 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 83 pp 1, 6

[Text] As has been reported, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, on 13 October this year received the Egyptian journalist Hamdi Fwad, [spelling as published], chief editor of AL-AHRAM newspaper, to whom he granted the following interview:

Question: Mr President, you have recently met with a significant number of heads of state and governments and other Middle East political figures, including from Israel and other parts of the world, to give an impetus to the process of peace in that area. You recently even received the Druze leader Walid Junblatt. We would like you to describe to the readers of our newspaper the results of those contacts. Within this framework we would also be grateful if you would let us know your opinion in connection with the manner of achieving a national reconciliation in Lebanon and with the situation within the PLO.

Answer: Romania has always advocated and firmly advocates the solution of the Middle East problems by negotiations between the sides concerned. The situation is particularly serious at this point. Proceeding from this, Romania firmly advocates--and insists--that all sides concerned renounce force and act to resolve disputes by negotiations alone.

In this respect we have held discussions and continue to hold discussions with all countries, with the political forces, heads of governments, and with politicians. And I must state that I have noted that there is a general concern to seek ways to resolve the Middle East problems by political means.

At this point, I believe that it is necessary that everything be done to consolidate the cease fire in Lebanon and to achieve a national reconciliation among all political forces proceeding from the need to ensure the independence and territorial integrity of Lebanon. We believe that there is no more important problem today than to preserve and consolidate the agreement on the cease fire and on convening a meeting aimed at resolving the problems among the Lebanese, proceeding from the basic interests of the Lebanese people.

At the same time, we believe that it is necessary to continue to act toward the unconditional withdrawal of the Israeli troops from Lebanon, toward appropriate understandings and agreements regarding the complete ensurance of Lebanon's independence and sovereignty.

We also advocate the transition to organizing an international conference with the participation of all sides concerned, including the PLO. We believe that at this point it is necessary to overcome difference within the PLO by proceeding from the need for complete unity in this organization in order to act toward resolving the Palestinian people's problem on the basis of their right to self-determination, including the creation of an independent Palestinian state.

Question: Mr President, when you received Yitzhaq Shamir in Bucharest there was much talk that you tried to mediate a normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and Israel. Upon returning home, Shamir made certain statements in the Knesset in connection with the new settlements in the occupied territories.

Answer: During my meetings with the foreign minister, currently Israel's prime minister, Shamir, we discussed bilateral questions, Middle East and other international problems. The focus of our talk were the problems linked with achieving a lasting and just peace in the Middle East by resolving the Palestinian problem, including convening an international conference. We have never proposed to mediate between the Soviet Union and Israel. However, I have stressed the importance of the participation by the Soviet Union in resolving the Middle East problems and within this framework I have also stressed the need and prospects of normalizing relations between the Soviet Union and Israel.

Question: Your Excellency, the conflict between Iran and Iraq continues. How do you view the solution to the serious situation in that area?

Answer: As is well known, the conflict between Iran and Iraq has claimed many human losses and caused great damage to the economies of the two countries. At the same time, this conflict has aggravated the situation in that area and generally has contributed to a tense international situation.

The continuation of that conflict is not in keeping with the interests of either Iraq or Iran. On the contrary, both countries are interested in stopping this conflict as soon as possible.

Along this line, Romania has always advocated the cessation of fighting, the withdrawal of troops by both sides from the territories of both countries within the former international borders, and the solution of problems by direct negotiations between Iraq and Iran. I believe that at this point it is imperatively necessary to act to stop the fighting, to withdraw troops within international borders and to resolve all problems by negotiations alone. This is in keeping with the interests of both peoples and with the cause of peace in that area, and with the cause of peace generally.

Question: Mr President, what do you think of Iran's statement in connection with closing the Strait of Hormuz because of the conflict with Iraq?

Answer: As long as the conflict continues, actions and measures may be taken that will complicate and aggravate the situation in that area even further. Therefore, it is necessary to do everything to stop that conflict and to proceed to resolving

problems by negotiations. Military actions cannot always be foreseen and each side may resort to various actions and that will only complicate things further. Therefore--I want to stress this again--the way to solve the conflict between Iran and Iraq is to stop fighting and to resolve problems by negotiations.

Question: Mr President, recently an international conference on Palestinian issues was held in Geneva which, however, did not yield any results. What do you think can be further done in connection with that international conference?

Answer: As I mentioned before, to resolve the Palestinian problem and generally to achieve a lasting peace in the Middle East, it is necessary to convene an international conference. A resolution was voted on in Geneva which promotes the idea of an international conference and at this fall's UN session the PLO representative resumed this idea stressing the need to organize a conference and even forming an Arab delegation, including PLO representatives also, in order to participate in negotiations within that conference. I believe that this creates new possibilities and demonstrates the PLO's desire to achieve a political solution to the Middle East problems.

Taking all this into consideration, I believe that it is necessary for the United Nations or the Security Council to adopt appropriate decisions and to initiate the organization of an international conference, and the countries concerned, including the Arab countries, and all states and political forces advocating a political solution to Middle East problems should act to contribute to organizing that international conference. I am also including Egypt which continues to play an important role in resolving the Middle East problems.

Question: Mr President, thus far the Geneva negotiations on medium-range missiles have yielded no positive results. In this case the U.S. 'cruise' and 'Pershing-II' missiles are to be installed in Europe by end of this year in keeping with the NATO decision. How much do they and the already existing ones in military arsenals threaten peace in Europe and what has to be done to ensure peace and security on the European Continent and throughout the world?

Answer: As is well known, the arms race has continued to develop. Nuclear arming has particularly intensified. It is in this framework that the problem of the deployment of the medium-range missiles must be seen. The deployment of those missiles will intensify the nuclear arms race even more and will increase the danger of a nuclear war that could destroy the achievements of our civilization and life itself on our planet. Therefore, we believe that a halt to the nuclear arms race, the transition to disarmament, and to cutting back on nuclear weapons constitutes the basic problems of our time. It is within this framework that we view halting the deployment of medium-range missiles in Europe and the transition to withdrawing and destroying the ones in place.

It is true, no agreement has been reached thus far; however, I believe that important proposals have been made by both sides in this respect. I do not now want to evaluate which of those proposals are more important and which less important. I believe that the main thing is that both sides are acting and

making proposals and statements in connection with the need for an agreement on stopping the deployment of the new missiles and for proceeding to withdrawing and destroying the ones in place. We believe that this must be achieved on the basis of a real balance between the two sides which, however, will ensure the maintenance of a balance of forces by constantly cutting back weapons to the lowest possible level and not by manufacturing new missiles, new nuclear missiles.

Romania has presented a number of proposals in this respect. We are for the continuation of negotiations until an agreement is reached. During those negotiations the Soviet Union should not deploy new missiles and even proceed to cutting back a certain number of existing ones in keeping with statements made.

At the same time, I believe that it is necessary that the other European countries--specifically the NATO countries and the Warsaw Pact countries--should meet to contribute to achieving an agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States regarding the deployment of new missiles and the destruction of existing ones. This would open up important prospects for generally tackling a cutback on nuclear weapons and for strengthening peace and security in Europe and throughout the world.

In this respect, I would like to mention the successful conclusion of the Madrid meeting and the convening of a conference on trust and disarmament in Europe that is to begin next year. This demonstrates that when one proceeds from the interests of peace and the people's independence, when fully responsible action is taken, it is possible to find an acceptable solution for all sides and to act in the direction of detente, cooperation, and peace.

Question: Mr President, you have repeatedly stated that detente and security must be the result of agreements and negotiations. In the current serious international situation, what role may the summit meetings between the United States and the Soviet Union play? Likewise, what role may the small and medium-size states play in lessening tension and international confrontation?

Answer: As I have mentioned before, the international situation is particularly serious and, unfortunately, tension has worsened in the past months. This demonstrates why it is necessary to act with great responsibility and with all our energy to overcome this tension and to resolve all problems between countries by negotiations alone.

Certainly, an important role in this respect devolves on the Soviet Union and the United States. We believe that the negotiations that are taking place at this time between the Soviet Union and the United States must lead to the overcoming of tension and to resolving a number of problems, primarily--I would like to stress--the problem of halting the arms race, cutting back on nuclear weapons, and of achieving a balance of forces at the lowest possible level.

Taking into consideration that all countries are directly interested in a policy of detente and peace, we attach great importance to small and mediums-sized countries, and to the nonaligned countries which actually represent the great

majority of the countries in the world. We believe that they must act with all their energy to contribute to resolving the current problems and to the resumption of the policy of detente and cooperation. Within this framework, I would like to make special mention of the need to resolve certain differences between small and medium-sized countries and between the nonaligned countries by negotiations alone. We believe that small and medium-sized countries and the nonaligned countries must themselves set an example of how they resolve their problems through negotiations, without the use or threat of force, so as to play an active role in resolving the complex problems in the international arena.

Question: Your Excellency, I would like to ask you to speak about the stage of relations between Romania and the Balkan countries. Similarly, what is your opinion of the prospects of the situation in the eastern part of the Mediterranean Sea?

Answer: Romania has positive relations with all Balkan countries. I could state with satisfaction that Romania's relations with the Balkan states are of great importance not only for bilateral relations between our countries, but also for achieving a general understanding between all states in that area.

We have advocated and firmly advocate the surmounting of certain differences between some states in the Balkans, and the solution of problems by negotiations, and we advocate the achievement of a nuclear-free zone in the Balkans, without any foreign military bases. Within this framework I would like to mention that in past years a few meetings at the experts or deputy minister level have taken place on economic issues and on other issues of cooperation in the Balkans--this has opened up prospects for preparing and holding a summit meeting on problems of cooperation and turning the Balkans into an area without nuclear weapons and without foreign military bases. We view this as part and parcel of achieving a Europe without nuclear weapons and without foreign military bases.

For this purpose, I believe that it is necessary that sustained efforts be made in the eastern part of the Mediterranean and generally in the Mediterranean Sea area in order to find ways and means to achieve a lasting cooperation between the Mediterranean countries and to turn that area into an area of cooperation and peace.

Question: Mr President, relations between Romania and Egypt are positive relations. We would like you to speak about the prospects of further developing Romanian-Egyptian collaboration and cooperation.

Answer: I would like to mention with great satisfaction the upward evolution of relations between Romania and Egypt. In recent years we recorded intensified economic, scientific-technical and cultural cooperation between our countries. Exchanges at various levels have also intensified and, as is known, summit meetings have taken place during President Mubarak's visit to Romania, a fact that has contributed to constantly developing economic and other collaboration and cooperation.

At the same time, at an international level as concerns a number of problems, beginning with those in the Middle East, Romania and Egypt have acted and continue to act to resolve those problems by negotiations, to achieve a lasting and just peace, including resolving the Palestinian people's problem. As to other international problems, including the problems of disarmament, peace, eliminating underdevelopment, and establishing a new international economic order, our countries hold common or very close positions and closely cooperate to contribute to resolving those problems.

Proceeding from this, I believe that there are broad prospects for expanding Romanian-Egyptian economic cooperation in industry, agriculture, and to develop scientific and cultural cooperation which is fully in keeping with the interests of both countries and peoples and with the cause of peace and world cooperation.

Question: Mr President, Husni Mubarak has been at the head of our country for 2 years. What is your opinion about your cooperation with him in the future?

Answer: I have mentioned that I have had many meetings with President Mubarak both in the past and during the time since he has been president of Egypt. President Mubarak has visited Romania several times during this period. We have reached positive understandings and I could state that relations of friendship have been established. Therefore, I believe that the visit I will pay to Egypt, the meetings and talks with President Mubarak will also represent a new and important stage in relations between Romania and Egypt, will strengthen the direct friendly relations between the two of us which is in keeping with the interests of both countries and peoples.

Question: Perhaps you would like to say a few words, Mr President, about your coming visit to the Sudan, too?

Answer: Our relations with the Sudan are also very good. I have had several meetings with President Numayri; together we have reached positive understandings regarding developing relations between our countries. The visit I am to pay to the Sudan is part and parcel of the positive relations of cooperation between our countries, including the friendly relations that were established between me and President Numayri.

We attach great importance both to relations with Egypt and relations with the Sudan and therefore I believe that the visit to the Sudan will be important both for strengthening friendship and cooperation between our peoples, and generally for the policy of peace and international cooperation.

I would like to conclude by extending through your newspaper a message of friendship and best wishes for prosperity, well-being, and progress to the friendly Egyptian people.

CSO: 2700/20

SCINTEIA REPORTS PLANNED CHANGES IN CPC

AU191021 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Oct 83 p 4

[Text] Beijing, 17 Oct (AGERPRES)--XINHUA reports that, in accordance with a decision adopted by the Second Plenum of the 12th CPC Central Committee, a general amending of the party style and strengthening of party bodies will begin this winter and will be pursued for 3 years.

The decision states that the current process of strengthening the party is designed to radically improve the party style, to consolidate the ties between the party and the masses, and to turn the party into a forceful leadership nucleus of socialist modernization. The document specifies that the above aims require: achieving ideological unity, which means intensifying efforts to attain a high level of ideological and political unity throughout the party and correcting all misguided "leftist" and rightist tendencies; improving the party style, i.e., promoting a revolutionary spirit of devotedly serving the people, eliminating abuses of power or function for personal gain, and combating bureaucratic attitudes; strengthening discipline, which implies faithfulness to democratic centralism--the organizational principle of the party--rejection of patriarchalism, factionalism, anarchy, and liberalism that totally ignores party organizations, and eliminating expressions of weakness and complacency within party organizations; purging elements that continue to oppose the party and impinge on its activities, and ousting them from the party in accordance with the party statute. The campaign to strengthen the party will take place in two stages, over a period of 3 years beginning this winter, among the 40 million party members.

The party Central Committee--the decision states in conclusion--believes that this process of strengthening the party will contribute to raising the Marxist level of the party and will permit it to acquire an even greater vitality and vigor, and will create a new atmosphere within the party; the party will be guided in its activities by the desire to strengthen the country and tighten its ranks. This process will undoubtedly permit the party to improve its leadership and thus lead the people and all their nationalities toward further great victories in the campaign of socialist modernization.

CSO: 2700/20

REPORTAGE ON CEAUSESCU VISIT TO EGYPT

Meets Mubarak in Cairo

AU201811 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1640 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] Cairo, 20 Oct (AGERPRES)--President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu met again with President Husni Mubarak and with Suzanne Mubarak at luncheon, in response to an invitation extended to them by the Egyptian head of state and his wife.

During the luncheon, which passed in an atmosphere of warm friendship, Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Husni Mubarak continued their exchange of opinions on the development of the Romanian-Egyptian relations, of the two countries' cooperation, as well as on current international questions of mutual interest.

Visits Aswan Dam, Attends Dinner

AU212056 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1938 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Cairo, 21 Oct (AGERPRES)--On the third day of the official visit of friendship they are paying to Egypt, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu were guests of the residents of Aswan Governorate, who extended them a festive reception, welcoming them with songs and dances in keeping with the traditions in those lands, as well as with cheers and ovations.

On their behalf, the governor of Aswan, General Shauki el Metiny [spelling as received], highlighted that the visit of the Romanian people's messengers was a great honour to them, and paid homage to Romania's president, the Egyptian people's great friend, to his outstanding personality and his activity dedicated to people's welfare and peace.

After the arrival ceremony, Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu visited, accompanied by the hosts, the high dam in Aswan as well as the Egilca [spelling as received] Island.

The town of Aswan was also visited. Along the route the residents of that town cheered at length for the Romanian guests.

The governor of Aswan gave a luncheon at the end of the visit in honour of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu.

Continues Talks With Mubarak

AU212100 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1945 GMT 21 Oct 83

[Text] Cairo, 21 Oct (AGERPRES)--In the afternoon of October 21, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu met again with President Husni Mubarak and Mme Suzanne Mubarak.

The exchange of opinions on current international issues focused on the common concerns of the two states over the problems confronting the developing and nonaligned countries. In that context, emphasis was placed on the joint willingness of Romania and Egypt to act for the establishment of new-type interstate relations, for a new international economic order, a better and more just world, the resumption of the course of detente and the assertion of a climate of peace, understanding and collaboration worldwide.

The new dialogue proceeded, just as the previous talks, in the spirit of full understanding and under the sign of friendship and mutual esteem.

Visit Concludes

AU221731 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1629 GMT 22 Oct 83

[Text] Cairo, 22 Oct (AGERPRES)--The official visit of friendship of President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu to Egypt concluded in the morning of October 22.

The official ceremony of the distinguished Romanian guests' departure took place in front of al-Qubbah Palace. The national anthems of the two countries were played.

The two heads of state reviewed the guard of honour.

After the ceremony, the Romanian guests and the hosts left by the presidential helicopter for the international airport of Cairo.

At the staircase of the plane, President Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu bade President Husni Mubarak and Mme Suzanne Mubarak a warm farewell.

Presidents Nicolae Ceausescu and Husni Mubarak were highly appreciative of the productive results of the visit and talks, highlighting that by now traditional and permanent summit interviews are an expression of the fraternal, friendly relations between the leaders of the two states, of the spirit of friendship and mutual understanding characteristic of the cooperative relations between Romania and Egypt.

At 9:50 hours a.m. the presidential aircraft took off making for Khartoum, the next stage of the official visit of friendship Nicolae Ceausescu and Elena Ceausescu are paying to countries on the European and African continents.

CSO: 2020/10

UN REPRESENTATIVE ADDRESSES SECURITY COMMITTEE

AU201109 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0930 GMT 20 Oct 83

[Text] United Nations, 20 Oct (AGERPRES)--It is Romania's firm belief that the soonest reaching of an agreement that should take account of the general security interests of all states in connection with the situation of the nuclear weapons in Europe, that should lead to halting the emplacement of new missiles, the withdrawal and scrapping of the ones in place, would be of primordial importance for the improvement of the general political climate, stated Ambassador Teodor Marinescu, Romania's permanent representative to the United Nations, in his address in the Political and Security Committee of the UN General Assembly.

Recalling Romania's proposals included in the messages addressed by President Nicolae Ceausescu to the leaders of the USSR and the U.S., which request that everything possible should be done so that new missiles should not be emplaced, the speaker pointed out that these concrete proposals rely on the consideration that it is still possible that an adequate agreement be reached by steady efforts, by negotiations conducted in a spirit of collaboration and utmost responsibility on either side.

Under the circumstances, there is no justification for the acceptance as a fait accompli of the emplacement of the new nuclear missiles. Romania considers it is particularly important that the General Assembly declares firmly for the continuation and intensification of the Soviet-American negotiations in Geneva, so that they may lead the soonest to the result all states and peoples of the world expect.

Starting from these considerations, the Romanian delegation suggested the endorsement by the UN General Assembly of an appeal to the governments of the Soviet Union and the United States to further efforts and to the continuation, based on mutually acceptable bases, of the Geneva negotiations on the medium-range nuclear missiles in Europe as long as it is necessary, until their conclusion with positive results. The two states' governments could also be invited to prove moderation and not to take any action that would check the unfolding and successful conclusion of the negotiations.

Likewise, greatly important would be the endorsement by the two states of unilateral measures meant to enhance the mutual confidence and prevent the intensification of arming in Europe, thus facilitating the process of reaching an understanding in connection with the medium-range missiles in Europe.

In concluding his address, the Romanian ambassador stressed the importance and urgent character of such an appeal inspired from the member states' wish to actually contribute to the promotion of peace and understanding, of detente and security in Europe and the world over.

CSO: 2020/10

BRIEFS

DELEGATE ADDRESSES UNGA--United Nations, 19 Oct (AGERPRES)--Taking the floor during the debates in the Legal Committee of the UN General Assembly, the Romanian representative set forth at length Romania's conception on the primordial importance of the elimination, once and for all, of the threat and use of force from the international life, as an inseparable condition for each people's free and independent development, for the maintenance of peace and consolidation of international security. He stressed that under the current international circumstances, of extreme tension, it was more necessary than ever before for the UN to intensify its efforts and fulfil its cardinal task, that of maintaining peace and strengthening international security, of taking firm action to prevent the use and threat of force, to put an end to aggressive acts as soon as they occur, to settle disputes and conflicts before they grow worse. The Romanian representative said that Romania and other countries advanced a document to the General Assembly, which includes the proposal on the creation of a commission on good offices, mediation and reconciliation for the settlement of disputes and the prevention of interstate conflicts. The speaker also reiterated our country's constant interest in the elaboration and conclusion of a substantive instrument, as committing as possible, to forbid the recourse to force and threat of force under any form. [Text] [AU191035 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0916 GMT 19 Oct 83]

DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRAT LEADERS--Copenhagen, 19 Oct (AGERPRES)--The RCP delegation led by Ion Coman, member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, who are paying a visit to Denmark, met with Lasse Budtz, member of the Executive National Bureau of the Social-Democratic Party, chairman of the Foreign Policy Commission of that party, deputy, and Kjeld Olesen, member of the leadership of the Social-Democratic Party, former foreign minister. During the interview the positive course was appreciated of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the RCP and the Social-Democratic Party and the two parties' wish was voiced to further cooperate actively in the interests of the two countries and peoples, so as to make an ever more important contribution to the resolution of the major problems of the contemporary world. Special attention was paid to the situation on the European continent. Both sides declared for the prevention of the deployment of new medium-range missiles in Europe and the scrapping of the ones in place, for the creation of denuclearized zones in northern Europe and in the Balkans. [Text] [AU192015 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2009 GMT 19 Oct 83]

AGERPRES CHANGE--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Ion Cumpanasu is relieved of his position as director general of the Romanian Press Agency AGERPRES. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 68, 12 Sep 83 p 3]

PEOPLE'S COUNCIL CHANGE--On the basis of Article 55, paragraph 2 of Law No 57/1968 on the organization and operation of the people's councils, the president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Bordea Veniamin is relieved of his position as secretary of the Executive Committee of the Dimbovita County People's Council. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part 1 No 68, 12 Sep 83 p 3]

NEW AMBASSADOR TO MALTA--By presidential decree Comrade Ion Constantinescu has been appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Socialist Republic of Romania to the Republic of Malta in lieu of Comrade Ion Margineanu who has been recalled to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Text] [AU281839 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 23 Sep 83 p 5 AU]

LOSONCZI CABLES CEAUSESCU--To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Dear Comrade Ceausescu, flying over the territory of the Socialist Republic of Romania, I want to extend fraternal greetings and most sincere wishes for well-being to you and the Romanian people. Pal Losonczi, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic. [Text] [AU201719 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 83 p 5]

CEAUSESCU LAYS WREATH IN MALTA--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, on 18 October laid a wreath at the Monument to Liberty in the city of Vittoriosa near Malta's capital. The head of the Romanian state was accompanied by Agatha Barbara, president of Malta, and by other Maltese officials. Comrades Gheorghe Oprea, Stefan Andrei, and other officials accompanying the head of the Romanian state were also present. [Excerpt] [AU201429 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 83 p 2]

CEAUSESCU IN MALTA--Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, together with Comrade Elena Ceausescu, accompanied by Deputy Prime Minister Carmelo Mifsud Bonnici, and other [Maltese] government members visited the 'Malta Drydocks' Shipyard on 18 October. Comrade Gheorghe Oprea, first deputy prime minister of the government, and other Romanian officials were also present. Expressing thanks to the Administration Board, the leadership committee, and the workers of 'Malta Drydocks' for their warm welcome, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu extended friendly greetings on his behalf and on behalf of the workers from Romanian shipyards, together with best wishes for success in the activity carried out in this big enterprise: "I would like to express," Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu said, "the conviction that an active cooperation will develop between Romanian and Maltese shipyards, that solidarity between the workers of our countries, cooperation and friendship between the peoples of our two countries will strengthen in the struggle for disarmament and for a world in which each nation is able to develop freely. Once again I wish you success in your activity!" [Excerpts] [AU201430 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 19 Oct 83 p 3]

PRESIDENTIAL APPOINTMENTS--The president of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Nicolae Busui is appointed deputy chairman of the Central Council of Workers' Control of Economic and Social Activity; Comrade Octavi Alexandru Stanescu is appointed deputy minister of the machine tool, electrical engineering and electronics industry; and Comrade Steliana Istodorescu is appointed deputy minister of light industry. [Excerpts] [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 35 bis, 16 Pay 83 p 4]

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